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PETER III. EMPEROR OF RUSSIA REIGNED 1 YEAR 4 MONTHS
CATHARINE II. EMPRESS OF RUSSIA REIGNED 34 YEARS

THE

LIFE

OF

CATHARINE II.

EMPRESS OF RUSSIA.

WITH SEVEN PORTRAITS ELEGANTLY ENGRAVED, AND A CORRECT MAP OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

Nihil compositum miraculi causâ, verùm audita scriptaque senioribus tradam. TACIT. Ann. lib. xi.

THE THIRD EDITION,
WITH CONSIDERABLE IMPROVEMENTS.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Author being called upon to prepare a third edition for the Preſs, has endeavoured, on reviſing the whole, to correct ſome inaccuracies which had eſcaped his notice in the former editions; and, in order to render the work ſtill more complete, has added a chapter on the ſtate of literature, arts, and ſciences in Ruſſia during the reign of Catharine II. which he humbly conceives will be deemed an agreeable and uſeful improvement.

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PRE-

PRELIMINARIES.

SECTION I.

Extent, Diviſion, Population, and Revenue of the Ruſſian Empire.

BEFORE we enter on the principal ſubject of the preſent undertaking, it will be proper to furniſh the reader with ſome general knowledge of the vaſt empire to which it ſo intimately relates.

Ruſſia, in the year 1785, was reckoned to contain within its limits 110 degrees of longitude, and in its breadth 32 degrees of latitude; its ſuperficies was about 305,000 german ſquare miles*, whereof 63,000 are in Europe, and 242,000 in Aſia †.

* A german mile is nearly ſix engliſh miles.

† From Riga to the banks of the Oby in Kamtſhatka are reckoned 11,000 verſts, or 2200 leagues of 25 to a degree. Three verſts make two engliſh miles.

But this empire has been greatly extended ſince, by the conqueſt of a vaſt territory in the Krimea, by the diſmemberment of Poland, and by the addition of Courland.

Ruſſia actually occupies more than a ſeventh part of the known continent, and almoſt the twenty-ſixth part of the whole globe. The greateſt extent of Ruſſia from weſt to eaſt, viz. from the 39¼ to 207¼ degree of longitude, contains 168 degrees; and, if the iſlands of the eaſtern ocean be included, it will then contain 185 degrees: ſo that the continental length of Ruſſia, viz. from Riga to Tchukotſkoy Noſs, the eaſternmoſt promontory, will conſtitute about 8500 verſts. The greateſt extent of this empire from north to ſouth, that is, from the 78th to 50¼ degree of latitude, contains 27¾ degrees. Hence the breadth of Ruſſia, reckoning it from the cape Taymour, which is the north-eaſtern promontory to Kiakta, will make about 3200 verſts.

To reconcile Ebeling, Krome, Buſching, and the other writers on the population of Ruſſia, this population was eſtimated in 1785 at 24,000,000 of inhabitants, whereof 20,000,000 are in Europe, and only 4,000,000 in Aſia.

Hence it appears, that the mean term of the population of Ruſſia, by the german ſquare mile,

mile, is a little more than 78 inhabitants, but that there are 318 to the ſquare mile in european Ruſſia, and only 16 per ſquare mile in aſiatic Ruſſia. Now this population ſeems very trifling in compariſon with that of England and France; where it is calculated that there are 2500 inhabitants per ſquare league, that is, nearly five-eighths of a german mile.

Towards the year 1785, Ruſſia was divided into forty-three governments, containing in all about 540 towns, 193 whereof were built in the reign of Catharine II. At that period, the empreſs cauſed a new diviſion of the empire to be made into vice-royalties, which have ſince her death been aboliſhed by the emperor Paul.

According to the laſt reviſion, the population of Ruſſia amounts to 26,000,000. But it is to be noticed that the nobility, clergy, land as well as ſea forces, different officers, ſervants belonging to the court, perſons employed under the government in civil and other offices; the ſtudents of univerſities, academies, ſeminaries, and other ſchools; hoſpitals of various denominations; likewiſe all the irregular troops, the roving hordes of different tribes, foreigners and coloniſts, or ſettlers of various nations, are not included in the above-mentioned number: but with the addition of all theſe, the population of

Ruſſia, of both ſexes, may be ſuppoſed to come near to 30,000,000.

The revenue of Ruſſia is eſtimated at upwards of 40,000,000 of rubles. The expences in time of peace never exceed 38,000,000; the remainder is employed in conſtructing public edifices, making harbours, canals, roads, and other national works.

M. Hermann, in his book on this ſubject, in 1790, juſtly ſays, that the ruſſian empire, in its preſent extent, contains a ſurface, the like of which is not to be found in hiſtory. Neither the monarchy of Alexander the great, nor the old roman empire, nor the modern China, are equal to it in magnitude. It compriſes about the ſeventh part of the firm land of our earth, is as large as the half of all Aſia, and more than twice as big as Europe. Its ſuperficies contains about 320,000 geographical ſquare miles, or above 15,000,000 ſquare verſts, whereof 78,000 ſquare miles belong to the european, and 242,000 ſquare miles to the aſiatic part. The two parts conſiſt of 43 vice-royalties, the dimenſions whereof differ from 400 to 140,000 ſquare miles. Their magnitude is determinable by an inverted ratio of their population: and in this regard they may be divided into three claſſes. The firſt includes the moſt populous; and

and conſequently, according to the circuit of country, the ſmalleſt vice-royalties; which are St. Peterſburg, Viborg, Reval, Riga, Polotzk, Mohilef, Smolenſk, Pſcove, Tver, Yaroſlaf, Kaſtroma, Vladimir, Moſco, Kaluga, Tula, Ræſan, Tamboſ, Orel, Kurſk, Voronetſh, Karkof, Novgorod-Severſk, Kief, Tſchernigof, Penſa, Niſhney-Novgorod, Kaſan, Simbirſk. In the ſecond claſs follow the vice-royalties, whoſe circuit is conſiderably larger, but their population not greater, and partly is yet inferior, as, Olonetz-Novgorod, Tavrida, Viætka; and in the third claſs, laſtly, the moſt extenſive, and therefore the proportionably leaſt peopled, are to be placed, Archangel, Vologda, Katarinoſlaf, Caucaſus, Saratof, Ufa, Permia, Tobolſk, Kolyvan, and Irkutſk.

If the difference among authors concerning the territorial extent of Ruſſia be great, it is not leſs ſo in regard to its population. The author of the "Eſſai ſur le commerce de Ruſſie, &c." Amſt. 1777, admits it in general to be no more than 14,000,000. Voltaire gives the ruſſian empire for the latter years of the reign of Peter I. 18,000,000 of inhabitants, but which is certainly by between 3 and 4,000,000 too many. Marſhall eſtimates the population at 18,000,000; Williams likewiſe for 1768, ſets it

down at only 18,000,000. M. Buſching makes the population of Ruſſia amount to 20,000,000; M. le Clerc ſtates it at 19,000,000; and M. l'Eveque at 19,050,000; M. de Voltaire, M. Suſſmilch, and profeſſor Ebeling, about 24,000,000; profeſſor Crome and the ſtatiſtic tables printed at Prague, reckon 25,000,000; and profeſſor Albaum, for 1774, 22,000,000. In the hiſtorical porte-feuille, part ii. 1786, the population is marked at 27,000,000, and captain Pleſcheyef in his Oboſrenie roſſiſkaia imperie, ſtates it to be (but for the year 1782 undoubtedly too high) 30,000,000. M. de Beauſobre, ſo early as the beginning of the year 1770, gives it at 30,000,000, a number which at that time was almoſt a third part too high. Mr. Coxe, on the other hand, ſtates the population of the whole empire at 22,838,516 ſouls; which, for the time when he viſited the country, was by far too little.

According to the cenſus taken at ſeveral times, the increaſe of the population has appeared to be as follows:

In the year	1722	the number of people was	14,000,000
	1742	- -	16,000,000
	1762	- -	20,000,000
	1782	- -	28,000,000
	1788	- -	30,000,000

During

During the reign of Catharine II. then the empire has gained in population not leſs than 10,000,000, whereof, if we deduct (at the utmoſt) for the newly-acquired countries and coloniſts 3,000,000, there will ſtill remain an increaſe of 7,000,000, ariſing from the annual ſurplus of births over the deaths.

SECTION II.

Of the Climate of Ruſſia.

THE temperature of the air and the weather in this prodigious empire, are as various as its circuit is extenſive. It compriſes many regions which enjoy the mildeſt ſky and the pureſt air; but ſtill more where the weather is extremely rude and cold; and ſeveral where the exhalations from the earth are not the moſt wholeſome. The empire, in regard to its weather, and the productions of nature dependent upon it, may generally be divided into three grand departments: 1. The territory which lies above the 60th degree of north latitude, and extends to the 78th; 2. The territory lying between the 50th and the 60th degree of the ſame latitude;

and, 3. The territory which lies more to the ſouth than 50 degrees N. L. and extends ſouthwards from the 50th to the 43d degree. The FIRST is the rudeſt and coldeſt. It contains the greater part of the governments of Irkutſk, Tobolſk, and Vologda: the whole of thoſe of Archangel, Olonetz, and Viborg, with a part of the governments of Perme, Novgorod, and St. Peterſburg. All theſe regions lie in a very cold climate, having a winter, eſpecially Siberia, extremely ſevere. In Uſtiug-Velikiye, in the government of Vologda, ſituate 61 deg. N. L. and 15 deg. more to the north than Peterſburg, quickſilver froze in open air the 4th of November 1786, in a cold of 30½ degrees by Reaumur's thermometer; the 1ſt of December from 40 degrees; it fell the ſame day to 51, and the 7th of December even to 60 degrees. The quickſilver froze to a ſolid maſs; on which ſeveral ſtrokes of a hammer were ſtruck, before any parts fell off. In Kraſnoyarſk, the quickſilver froze at 235 and 254 by de l'Iſle. (Pallas, Travels, tom. iii. p. 419.) In Solikamſk, the ſame thermometer is ſaid to have fallen in 1761 even to 280. The SECOND department, in regard to fertility, is called the temperate; in one half whereof, namely from the 55th to the 60th degree N. L. though the weather

weather is pretty ſevere and cold, it yet allows all the fruits of the field and many of the orchard to grow. In the other half, namely from the 50th to the 55th degree, the climate is much milder, and with the uſual products yields ſtill others, which in the former do not well ſucceed. The whole of this extenſive, beautiful, and important territory of the ruſſian empire comprehends the governments of St. Peterſburg, Reval, Riga, Polotzk, Moghilef, Smolenſk, Pſcove, Novgorod, Tver, Yaroſlaf, Koſtroma, Viætka, Perme, Kolyvan, a good part of Irkutſk and Uſa, the governments of Moſco, Vladimir, Niſhney-Novgorod, Kazane, Kaluga, Tula, Riazane, Voronetſh, Tamboſ, Penſa, Simbirſk, Kurſk, Orel, Novgorod-Sieverſk, Tchernigof, and the greater part of Kief, Karkof, and Saratof. The THIRD department is the hot, in which products are common, *e. g.* wine and ſilk, which do not thrive at all in the former. In this lie Tavrida, Ekatarinoſlaf, the greater part of Caucaſus, with a part of Kief, Karkof, Voronetſh, Saratof, Kolyvan, and Irkutſk.

Tavrida poſſeſſes a very agreeable climate. The inhabitants, for three quarters of the year, enjoy fine and warm weather; and Nature here requires but three months at moſt to recreate her powers. The ſpring ſeaſon commences here

commonly

commonly with March; and from the middle of May to the middle of Auguſt generally the greateſt heat prevails. This is uſually ſo intenſe, that it rarely happens that winds do not continually blow from ten in the morning till ſix in the evening every day, which render it almoſt inſupportable. Thunder and ſtorms of rain are here alſo not unfrequent, whereby the air is refreſhed. September and October are, generally ſpeaking, the fineſt months. The autumnal weather comes on about the middle of November. The froſt appears in December and January, but is very moderate; ſeldom laſting for more than two or three days. Here, however, it is to be remarked, that the level part of this country is in this circumſtance to be diſtinguiſhed from the mountainous; the heat and cold are commonly more intenſe in the former, and rain and ſnow leſs frequent. The air in all the regions of Tavrida, except ſome few places on the Sibaſh, are reckoned very healthy.—About Kurſk, (in the Ukraine,) all ſorts of fruit, arbouſes*, melons, and apples, are ripe in Auguſt; and the corn is already got in. The rivers freeze over at the end of November and in December; and in May they are again free from ice.

* Water-melons.

Theſe

Theſe four ſeveral departments, ſo different from each other, ſhould conſtantly be kept in view whenever we hear or read of the climate of the ruſſian empire. Hence we ſee that there are governments which partake in the climate of two; others (for example, Kolyvan) of three; and the government of Irkutſk even of all the four. Whatever Nature produces in theſe parallels, Ruſſia poſſeſſes or might poſſeſs; and therefore has advantages of which not one other european ſtate can boaſt.

The high northern latitude of St. Peterſburg, and its ſituation in a low, marſhy, and woody flat, with many large rivers, render its climate cold, rude, and in many reſpects ſingular. The imperial academy of ſciences has kept a meteorological account, from its foundation in 1725, of the weather of the place; and the freezing of the Neva has been regularly marked annually from the year 1718.

The froſt and its effects are here remarkable. The number of froſty days is annually from 150 to 190; and their continuance and ſeverity freezes the ground every winter from 2 to 2½ and ſometimes above 3 feet deep; and the ice of the Neva is from 24 to 36, but generally 28 inches in thickneſs. Though this body is formed by ſheets of ice gliding horizontally upon

upon each other, yet when large ſquare blocks of it ſtand in the ſun upon the ground in ſpring, they gradually fall to pieces in perpendicular ſpiculæ of the thickneſs of one's finger. Likewiſe in walking over the river in ſpring, while the ice is ſtill thick, the walking-ſtick is eaſily puſhed through the ice, by preſſing down ſome of the ſpiculæ out of their contiguity.

The covering of the Neva with ice, and the breaking-up of it, are remarkable phænomena. At firſt ſmall diſtinct flakes of ice are ſeen floating on the ſurface, which ſoon increaſe into large ſheets, of ſuch momentum that the bridges muſt be removed in all haſte to prevent their being carried away by the ice. Theſe ſheets of ice drive down the ſtream for a day or two; during which people paſs in boats among them acroſs the river, till at laſt the ice ſtops, or the ſheets of ice freeze on one another. Immediately the river is paſſable on foot; and nothing is more common than to ſee boats rowing over, and in an hour or two afterwards foot-paſſengers walking to the other ſide in great numbers.

The breaking-up of the ice comes on as ſuddenly. In ſpring, at firſt the ſnow-water ſtands on the ice; then the ice becomes ſpongy, or parts in ſpikes, admits the water, and aſſumes a

blackiſh

blackiſh hue. At length it gives way, but leaves the beaten roads ſtill ſtanding; in conſequence of which foot-walkers are often ſeen upon the roads, and between them and the floating maſſes of ice, boats rowed in various directions. When at laſt the roads too break, the ice continues driving for a few days to the gulf, and the river appears with its clear and beautiful current. In a week or a fortnight afterwards the drift ice comes down from the Ladoga, and continues floating about with the wind for two or three days, making for the time the atmoſphere uncommonly cold.

The ice and the cold are made ſerviceable in various ways. Diſtances are much ſhortened by their means, inaſmuch as people, horſes, and carriages of all ſorts, and of ever ſo great burden, can croſs the Neva, and the other rivers, lakes, and canals, in all places and directions: and the Cronſtadt gulf ſupplies in ſome meaſure the want of navigation during the winter, by the tranſport of commodities of every denomination over the ice. As ice-cellars here are a neceſſary of life, for keeping proviſions of all kinds during the ſummer, ſo every houſe in every quarter of the town is provided with one filled every year with large blocks of ice cut out of the river. This operation generally takes place about

about the beginning of February. The ice alſo adminiſters to the pleaſure of the inhabitants, by affording them an opportunity for the diverſion of ſledge and horſe-racing, and for that of ſliding down the ice-hills ſo much admired by the populace. The weight of theſe ice-hills, together with that of a multitude ſometimes of 5000 or 6000 perſons ſtanding about them on holidays, give the ſpectator a ſurpriſing idea of the ſtrength and ſolidity of the ice.

What may be executed in ice was ſhewn by the ice-palace which the empreſs Anna cauſed to be built on the bank of the Neva in 1740. It was conſtructed of huge quadrats of ice hewn in the manner of freeſtone. The edifice was 52 feet in length, 16 in breadth, and 20 in height. The walls were three feet thick. In the ſeveral apartments were tables, chairs, beds, and all kinds of houſehold furniture, of ice. In front of the palace, beſides pyramids and ſtatues, ſtood ſix cannons carrying balls of ſix-pounds weight, and two mortars, of ice. From one of the former, as a trial, an iron ball, with only a quarter of a pound of powder, was fired off. The ball went through a two-inch board at 60 paces from the mouth of the cannon; and the piece of ice-artillery, with its lavette, remained uninjured by the exploſion. The illu-

mination of the ice-palace at night had an aſtoniſhingly grand effect.

In and about Moſco the rivers freeze over in the middle or towards the latter end of November, old ſtyle; and break up in March or the beginning of April. The buds of the birch-trees expand in May, and the trees ſhed their leaves in September.—The river Ural uſually flows, near Gurief, free from ice about the beginning of March.

The greateſt degree of cold ſince the building of the city of St. Peterſburg was, by Reaumur, $32\frac{1}{2}$, the 6th of January 1760.

The greateſt heat, in the ſhade, was $28\frac{1}{3}$ degrees, the 23d of July 1757, and the 5th of July 1758.

By taking the average of all the thermometrical obſervations made at the Imperial Academy of Sciences, it is found that the greateſt cold happens in the month of January; and that its mean intenſity may be eſtimated at 22 degrees. Again, that the greateſt heat falls in July; and that its mean force is 23 degrees of Reaumur.

Months	The mean intenſity of the greateſt cold.	of the greateſt heat.	Mean cold of nights.	of days.	Mean heat of nights.	of days.
	Degrees.	*Degrees.*	*Degrees*	*Degrees.*	*Degrees.*	*Degrees.*
Jan.	22	$\frac{1}{2}$	$11\frac{1}{2}$	8	——	——
Feb.	$19\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$9\frac{1}{2}$	5	——	——
March	14	7	7	1	——	——
April	$6\frac{1}{2}$	13	$1\frac{1}{2}$	——	——	$4\frac{1}{2}$
May	* 1	19	——	——	5	10
June	* 6	$21\frac{1}{2}$	——	——	$9\frac{1}{2}$	$14\frac{1}{2}$
July	* 9	23	——	——	12	$17\frac{1}{2}$
Auguſt	* $5\frac{1}{2}$	$21\frac{1}{2}$	——	——	$10\frac{1}{2}$	16
Sept.	* $1\frac{1}{2}$	$15\frac{1}{2}$	——	——	6	11
Oct.	$3\frac{1}{2}$	10	——	——	2	$5\frac{1}{2}$
Nov.	11	$4\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	——	——
Dec.	18	2	$7\frac{1}{2}$	$4\frac{1}{2}$	——	——

The mark * ſignifies the degree of heat.

In turning over the pages of hiſtory, we come to paſſages where we almoſt ſtand aſtoniſhed at the then climate of Germany, where, for inſtance, it is ſaid: Theſe countries northward beyond the Danube and the Rhine are covered with vaſt ſnows, ſo that they are uninhabitable from their almoſt perpetual winters. Virgil and Ovid would not have affirmed, that on the borders of the Danube and in Thrace it was the cuſtom to divide the frozen wine in pieces, if at that time theſe countries were not ſubject to ſo ſevere a froſt. Pliny the elder complains of the immenſe ſnows, which will not permit the objects the leaſt remote, in european Scythia, to be ſeen. Speaking of Thrace, Pomponius Mela tells us, that the cluſters of

grapes

grapes never come to maturity; and all the antient writers talk of the northern diſtricts of Germany as countries conſiſting entirely of foreſts, lakes, moraſſes, ſnow, and ice; complaining of the piercing winds that bring from theſe parts tempeſts, ſnows, and froſts. That it is at preſent of a totally different temperature is known to every inhabitant of that country. But from theſe hiſtorical paſſages we might perhaps deduce a cauſe why one part of Ruſſia, though lying under the ſame parallel with Milan, Bourdeaux, and other countries and towns enjoying the moſt agreeable climate, is nevertheleſs of an atmoſpherical temperature entirely different. Thus, for example, Moſco lies under the ſame parallel with England: and yet, on the 14th of April, notwithſtanding the mild winter and an uncommonly early ſpring, the whole country round was covered with ſnow. The ice had begun to break up on many large rivers, while the Volga was yet faſt frozen. The degree of cold, which frequently in Moſco is not inferior to that at St. Peterſburg, and likewiſe reaches to 22 and more below the freezing point, will, on a compariſon with the temperature in England, ſhew an extraordinary difference; conſequently, there muſt be ſome material reaſons, occaſioning ſuch conſiderable differences under the ſame degree of

latitude. Conſidering theſe countries in this point of view, they are to us what Germany and the countries lying above the 50th and 55th degree were to Italy while they ſtill remained in an uncultivated ſtate. We may therefore partly aſcribe this colder temperature to the great number of moraſſes, lakes, the extraordinarily large foreſts and tracts of uncultivated land: and the rather, as it cannot be attributed to the high ſituation of the mountains, which in this region are of no extraordinary height, and the generality of the country is a flat. As it is a well-known obſervation how much looſe heat is abſorbed by water when it goes off in vapour, of courſe thoſe regions which contain ſuch a quantity of water on their ſurface muſt be conſtantly abſorbing heat, which, by uniting with that element, is rendered inſenſible. The alterations in the atmoſpherical temperature that have been obſerved in our times, by the draining of moraſſes and the diminution of foreſts, likewiſe ſhew, that this difference may be attributable to the woods and ſwamps that are ſtill ſo numerous. As far as relates to the northern regions, it is very comprehenſible how the cold muſt ſo extremely increaſe, as by the flattening of our earth at the poles, they in the ſame proportion are deprived of light by the ſouthern declination

of

of the ſun: ſo that, for inſtance, in Archangel in the month of December, when the days are at the ſhorteſt, the ſun remains above the horizon only 3 hours and 12 minutes, on the contrary in the month of June is viſible 20 hours and 48 minutes, and the ſtill more northern countries muſt be entirely deprived of it during the winter. The winds blowing from theſe regions are in this ſeaſon of an extraordinary dryneſs; as no heat is let looſe, ſo there is no evaporation from ice or ſnow; whereas, on the other hand, the quantity of heat that in ſummer is ſet free, tempered by the quantity of rain, ice, and ſnow, laſtly the water that goes off in vapour, confines a ſtill greater quantity of heat, than was before neceſſary to liquefaction, whereby the ſenſibility of the particles of heat muſt conſiderably decline.

The obſervations made by count Sternberg during ſeven months in St. Peterſburg will ſhew the long duration of the cold. The firſt ſnow fell the 20th of September, and the ſurface of the earth was not ſeen again till the 25th of April. The dry ſtate of the air, as appeared by the hygrometer was 95 drought.—The height of the barometer evinced the low ſituation of the country, and the preſſure of the atmoſphere. According to the mean ſtation of the barometer, Peterſburg lay 137—12 lin. lower than Prague.

The firſt froſt 1791 was the 14th of September, and the 3d of May 1792 the laſt; the interval conſequently, was 232 days; during 119 whereof it never ceaſed to freeze, and 25 on which it did not freeze at all, and 173 when the thermometer ſtood below the point of congelation, 169 days the ſky was partly clouded, and 123 entirely overcaſt. Fogs he reckoned 41. During 69 days it ſnowed, 112 days it rained, and 2 days hailed. Theſe obſervations relate to St. Peterſburg; and we may eaſily conclude from them, that in ſuch a climate but few days remain to the huſbandman for the culture of his field; and it is abſolutely impoſſible, with ſo few men and ſuch poor implements, to lay out his ground properly in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time. That as well in the higher regions as in thoſe that are at a greater diſtance from the ſea, ſtill fewer days are capable of being employed in culture, is well known; conſequently ſtill leſs can be performed, until the number of people be larger, the implements better, and they are in poſſeſſion of whatever can facilitate labour; or the atmoſpherical temperature be ſoftened by the gradual alteration of the ſurface; namely, by grubbing up the vaſt foreſts, and draining the ſwamps and moraſſes.

SECTION III.

Of the Commerce of Ruſſia.

THE whole of the great and intricate buſineſs comprehended under this head, is naturally reducible to the following branches: Export, import, and the exchange. We will briefly touch on each of them apart.

It is hardly poſſible to give a true ſtatement of the value, quality, and nature of the exports, without entering into a dry detail of cuſtom-houſe liſts. The publicity given to theſe matters here ſaves a great deal of trouble to the collectors of ſtatiſtical accounts, in their relations concerning this branch of national affairs. The following ſtatements are the reſult of a period of ten years, from 1780 to 1790. During that ſpace were annually exported,

2,655,038 poods of iron
19,528 - - ſaltpetre
2,498,950 poods of hemp
792,932 - - flax
2,907,876 arſchines of napkins and linen
214,704 pieces of ſail-cloth and ſlems
106,763 poods of cordage
167,432 - - hemp-oil and linſeed-oil

192,328 poods of linſeed
52,645 - - tobacco
129 - - rhubarb
105,136 - - wheat
271,976 - - rye
35,864 - - barley
200,000 - - oats
1456 maſts
1,193,125 planks
85,647 boards
7487 poods of roſin
9720 - - pitch
37,336 - - tar
81,386 - - train-oil
10,467 - - wax
943,618 - - tallow and tallow-candles
31,712 - - potaſhes
5516 - - iſinglaſs
8958 - - caviar
5635 - - horſe-hair
69,722 horſe-tails
29,110 poods of hog's briſtles
106,045 Ruſſia mats
292,016 goat-ſkins
144,876 poods of hides and ſole-leather
621,327 pieces of peltry
9982 ox-tongues
73,350 ox-bones.

This

This liſt, which is complete to the exception of a few articles of inferior conſequence, contains, beſides napkins, linen, ſail-cloth, cordage, tallow candles, pot-aſhes, iſinglaſs, caviar, peltry, and leather, no wrought goods; and even ſome of theſe have only ſuch a preparation as is neceſſary for the tranſport and preſervation of the product. The employment of the nation, conſiderably as it has increaſed ſince the time of Peter the great, is ſtill always more directed to production than to manufacture. This is the natural progreſs of every human ſociety advancing to civilization; and Ruſſia will continue to confine itſelf to the mere production and the commerce in products, till the quantity of its population and employment be ſufficient to the manufacturing of its raw materials.

The buying up of the foregoing articles, and their conveyance from the midland, and partly from the remoteſt regions of the empire, form an important branch of the internal commerce. The majority of theſe products are raiſed on the fertile ſhores of the volga; this ineſtimable river, which, in its courſe, connects the moſt diſtant provinces, is at the ſame time the channel of buſineſs and induſtry. Wherever its water laves the rich and fruitful coaſts, induſtry and diligence have fixed their abode: its courſe

marks the progreſs to internal civilization. But even from a diſtance of from 5 to 6000 verſts, from the heart of Siberia, rich in metals, St. Peterſburg receives the ſtores of its enormous magazines. The greater part of them, at leaſt the hardwares, are brought hither from the eaſtern-moſt diſtricts of Siberia, almoſt entirely by water. The Selenga receives and transfers them to the Baikal, from which they proceed by the Angara to the Yeniſſey, and paſs from that along the Oby into the Tobol; from it they are tranſported over a tract of about 400 verſts by land to the Tchuſſovaiya, from this into the Kamma, and then into the Volga; from which they go, through the ſluices at Viſhney-Volotſhok, into the Volkhof, and out of that into the Ladoga lake; from which they laſtly, after having completed a journey through two quarters of the globe, arrive in the Neva to the place of their deſtination. This aſtoniſhing tranſport becomes ſtill more intereſting by the reflection that theſe products conveyed hither from the neighbourhood of the north-eaſtern ocean, tarry here but a few weeks, in order then to ſet out on a ſecond, perhaps greater voyage; or after being unſhipped in diſtant countries, return hither under an altered form, and, by a tedious and difficult navigation, come back to their native land. How many

ſcythes

ſcythes of the ſiberian boors may have gone this circuitous courſe!

The number of the veſſels which, according to a ten years' average, from 1774 to 1784, came by the Ladoga canal to St. Peterſburg, was 2861 barks, 797 half barks, 508 one-maſted veſſels, 1113 chaloups—in all, 5339. Add to theſe 6739 floats of balks. Sum total, 12,078.

The prodigious value in money of theſe products is, by the want which Ruſſia has of wrought commodities, and by the ever-increaſing luxury, ſo much leſſened, that the advantage on the balance is proportionably but very ſmall. A liſt of the articles of trade with which St. Peterſburg annually furniſhes a part of the empire affords matter for the moſt intereſting economical commentary.

The annual imports at St. Peterſburg for the ſpace of ten years from 1780 to 1790, were

Silken ſtuffs to the amount of 2,500,000 rubles.
Woollen ſtuffs, 2,000,000 rubles.
Cloth, 2,000,000 rubles.
Cotton ſtuffs, 534,000 rubles.
Silk and cotton ſtockings, 10,000 dozen pair.
Trinkets, 700,000 rubles.
Watches, 2000.
Hardware, 50,000 rubles.
Looking-glaſſes, 50,000 rubles.

Engliſh ſtone-ware, 43,800 rubles.
Engliſh horſes, 250.
Coffee, 26,300 poods.
Sugar, 372,000 poods.
Tobacco, 5000 poods.
Oranges and lemons, 101,500 rubles.
Freſh fruit, 65,000 rubles.
Herrings, 14,250 tons.
Sweet oil, 20,000 rubles.
Porter and engliſh beer, 262,000 rubles.
French brandy, 50,000 ankers.
Champagne and Burgundy, 4000 pipes.
Other wines, 250,000 hogſheads.
Mineral water, 12,000 rubles.
Paper of different ſorts, 42,750 rubles.
Books, 50,150 rubles.
Copper-plate engravings, 60,200 rubles.
Alum, 25,500 poods.
Indigo, 3830 poods.
Kochenille, 1335 poods.
Glaſs and glaſs wares, 64,000 rubles.
Scythes, 325,000, &c.

A very great part of theſe commodities remain and are conſumed in St. Peterſburg. The reſt is conveyed by land-carriage to various parts of the empire, as to go up the navigable rivers againſt the ſtream would be tedious and expenſive.

ſive. The carts or ſledges made uſe of in this conveyance are moſtly drawn by only one horſe, each having a driver; who all together make up a caravan of from 25 to 100 carts: ſometimes, on long journies, there is but one driver to every three carts.

The ſtatements of the exports and imports above given are taken from the cuſtom-houſe regiſters. In order to judge of the worth and validity of them, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that all veſſels, on their arrival, undergo a ſtrict examination both at Cronſtadt and at St. Peterſburg, and are obliged to unload at the cuſtom-houſe. The proper officers examine the commodities according to the ſtatement of the merchants, who are obliged to particularize not only the nature of them, but, when the duty is to be paid *ad valorem*, muſt alſo fix that value. If upon examination it appears, or affords cauſe to ſuſpect, that the articles are rated below their proper value, the officer has a right to detain them, at the price thus ſet upon them, with an additional allowance of 20 per cent. for the profit. This method, which is called *underwriting*, obliges the trader to mark theſe articles of importation at a value rather too high than too low: and this practice therefore ſtamps a great

great authenticity on the cuſtom-houſe liſts. Whether, however, no fraud can be practiſed in the ſtatement is a queſtion, the ſolution whereof is only to be had from ſuch as have the greateſt intereſt in denying it. For the reſt, it is the general opinion that the prudent precautions are no where in the whole empire ſo good as at Peterſburg; and that conſequently any frauds in the cuſtoms are no where ſo difficult. That this cannot be ſaid of all cuſtom-houſe officers is proved from the experience of late years, when thoſe on the borders of Poland were diſplaced. Yet theſe matters do not come properly qualified to the ſtatiſtic till ſeveral years after, as the facts are too recent for obtaining ſure *data*, and reſults.

It remains to be mentioned, that the importation of diamonds, books, inſtruments, and the like, is duty-free; and that therefore theſe conſiderable articles either have no place in the entries, or are ſet down at pleaſure.

According to what has been ſeen, we are now enabled to ſtate the value of the imports and exports, and the balance of the trade to St. Peterſburg. By the moſt probable eſtimation, on an average of ten years, from 1780 to 1790, the account is as follows:—

Exports

Exports	13,261,942 rubles.
Imports	12,238,319.
Profit	1,023,623 rubles.
In coined and uncoined gold and silver, in the three laſt years, were annually imported - - -	337,064 rubles.
This, added to the foregoing, makes -	1,360,687 rubles.

The amount of the whole commerce was therefore in the ſaid period, from 1780 to 1790, annually 25,837,325 rubles.

The increaſe of the commerce appears in a ſtriking progreſſion from the following ſtatements:—

	IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.
1780.	8,600,000 rubles.	10,900,000 rubles.
1785.	10,000,000	13,400,000
1789.	15,300,000	18,700,000

If we admit, upon the moſt probable computation, that the whole commerce of the empire amounts to about 50,000,000 of rubles, it will follow that St. Peterſburg has more than

than the half for its ſhare. The next place in the commercial ſcale, after the reſidence *, is held by Riga; the commerce of which collectively may be eſtimated at about 6,000,000. This proportion may ſerve to ſhew the rank on this ſcale that may be allowed to the other trading towns that come after Riga.

The commerce of St. Peterſburg is chiefly carried on by commiſſion in the hands of factors. This claſs of merchants, which conſiſts almoſt entirely of foreigners, forms the moſt reſpectable and conſiderable part of the perſons on the exchange. In the year 1790, of the foreign counting houſes, not belonging to the guilds, were eight and twenty engliſh, ſeven german, two ſwiſs, four daniſh, ſeveral pruſſian, ſix dutch, four french, two portugueze, one ſpaniſh, and one italian. Beſides theſe, were twelve denominated burghers, and of the firſt guild 106, with 46 foreign merchants and 17 belonging to other towns, though ſeveral cauſe themſelves to be enrolled in theſe guilds who are not properly merchants.

In order to form an idea of the exchange and the courſe of trade, the following brief account will ſuffice. The ruſſian merchants from the in-

* So St. Peterſburg is ſtyled, from being the uſual reſidence of the later ſovereigns. Moſco is the capital of Ruſſia, as every reader knows.

terior

terior of the empire repair, at a ſtated time, to St. Peterſburg, where they bargain with the factors for the ſale of their commodities. This done, they enter into contracts to deliver the goods according to the particulars therein ſpecified, at which time they commonly receive the half or the whole of the purchaſe-money, though the goods are not to be delivered till the following ſpring or ſummer by the barks then to come down the Ladoga canal. The quality of the goods is then pronounced on by ſworn *brackers* or ſorters, according to the kinds mentioned in the contract. The articles of importation are either diſpoſed of by ruſſian merchants through the reſident factors, or the latter deliver them for ſale at foreign markets; in both caſes the Ruſſian, to whoſe order they came, receives them on condition of paying for them by inſtalments of ſix, twelve, and more months. The ruſſian merchant, therefore, is paid for his exports beforehand, and buys ſuch are imported on credit; he riſks no damages by ſea, and is exempted from the tedious tranſactions of the cuſtom-houſe, and of loading and unloading.

The clearance of the ſhips, the tranſport of the goods into the government warehouſes, the packing and unpacking, unloading and diſpatching of them,—in a word, the whole of the great

buſtle attendant on the commerce of a maritime town is principally at Cronſtadt and that part of the reſidence called Vaſſilioſtrof*. Here are the exchange, the cuſtom-houſe, and in the vicinity of this iſland, namely on a ſmall iſland between that and the Peterſburg iſland, the hemp warehouſes and magazines, in which the riches of ſo many countries are bartered and kept. In all the other parts of the city, the tumult of buſineſs is ſo rare and imperceptible, that a ſtranger who ſhould be ſuddenly conveyed hither would never imagine that he was in the chief commercial town of the ruſſian empire. The opulent merchants have their dwellings and compting-houſes in the moſt elegant parts of the town. Their houſes, gate-ways, and court-yards, are not, as in Hamburgh and Riga, blocked up and barricadoed with bales of goods and heaps of timber; here, beſides the compting-houſe, no trace is ſeen of mercantile affairs. The buſineſs at the cuſtom-houſe is tranſacted by one of the clerks, and people that are hired

* The Peterſburg iſland was formerly called Bereſovoioſtrof; the Vaſſilioſtrof, while Ingria was in poſſeſſion of the Swedes, bore the name of Giviſaari; the Apothecary's iſland was called Korpoſaari; Kammenoioſtrof was then Kitziſaari; and the pariſh where Peterhof ſtands was called Trief.

for

for that purpoſe, called expeditors; and the labour is performed by artelſchiki; or porters belonging to a kind of guild.

The factor delivers the imported goods to the ruſſian merchant, who ſends them off, in the above-mentioned manner, or retails them on the ſpot, in the markets, warehouſes, and ſhops.

There would be no exaggeration in affirming, that it would be difficult to point out a people that have more of the ſpirit of trade and mercantile induſtry than the Ruſſians. Traffic is their darling purſuit: every common Ruſſian, if he can but by any means ſave up a trifling ſum of money, as it is very poſſible for him to do, by his frugal and poor way of living, tries to become a merchant. This career he uſually begins as a *raſnoſchik*, or ſeller of things about the ſtreets; the profits ariſing from this ambulatory trade and his parſimony ſoon enable him to hire a *lavka* or ſhop; where, by lending of ſmall ſums at large intereſt, by taking advantage of the courſe of exchange, and by employing little artifices of trade, he in a ſhort time becomes a pretty ſubſtantial man. He now buys and builds houſes and ſhops, which he either lets to others, or furniſhes with goods himſelf, putting in perſons to manage them for ſmall wages; begins to

launch out into an extenſive trade, undertakes podriads, contracts with the crown, deliveries of merchandize, &c. The numerous inſtances of the rapid ſucceſs of ſuch people almoſt exceed deſcription. By theſe methods, a ruſſian merchant, named Sava Yacovlef, who died not many years ago, from a hawker of fiſh about the ſtreets became a capitaliſt of ſeveral millions. Many of theſe favourites of fortune are at firſt vaſſals, who obtain paſſes from their landlords, and with theſe ſtroll about the towns, in order to ſeek a better condition of life, as labourers, bricklayers and carpenters, than they could hope to find at the plough-tail in the country. Some of them continue, after fortune has raiſed them, and even with great riches, ſtill ſlaves; paying their lord, in proportion to their circumſtances, an *obrok* or yearly tribute. Among the people of this claſs at Peterſburg are many who belong to count Sheremetof, the richeſt private man in Ruſſia, and pay him annually for their paſs a thouſand and more rubles. It often happens that theſe merchants, when even in ſplendid circumſtances, ſtill retain their national habit and their long beard; and it is by no means rare to ſee them driving along the ſtreets of the reſidence, in this dreſs, in the moſt elegant carriages. From all this it is very remarkable, that

extremely

extremely few ruſſian houſes have ſucceeded in getting the foreign commiſſion trade; a ſtriking proof that there is *ſomething* beſides induſtry and parſimony requiſite to mercantile credit, in which the Ruſſians muſt hitherto have been deficient.

All the ways of gaining a livelihood among the working claſs have an intimate connection. The raiſing the products, their manufacture, and the barter of them, are equally the capital of the nation, and the ſource of its proſperity and wealth. Among the manufactories the imperial eſtabliſhments are ſo diſtinguiſhable for the magnitude of their plan, and the richneſs and excellence of their productions, that they may enter into competition with the moſt celebrated inſtitutions of the ſame kind in any other country. The tapeſtry manufactory, which weaves both hangings and carpeting, produces ſuch excellent work, that better is not to be ſeen from the Gobelines at Paris. The circumſtance that at preſent only native Ruſſians are employed, enhances the value and the curioſity of the eſtabliſhment. No where, perhaps, is the progreſs of the nation in civilization more ſtriking to the foreigner than in the ſpacious and extenſive work-rooms of this manufactory. The porcelain manufactory likewiſe entertains, excepting

the modellers and arcaniſts, none but ruſſian workmen, amounting in all to the number of 400, and produces ware that for taſte and fineneſs of execution approaches near to their beſt patterns. The clay was formerly got from the Ural, but at preſent from the Ukraine, and the quartz from the mountains of Olonetz. It is carried on entirely at the expence of government, to which it annually coſts 15,000 rubles in wages, and takes orders. But the price of the porcelain is high; and the general prejudice is not in favour of its durability. The fayence manufactory has hitherto made only ineffectual attempts to drive out the queen's ware of England; but the neat and elegant chamber-ſtoves made there, give it the conſequence of a very uſeful eſtabliſhment. Almoſt all the new-built houſes are provided with the excellent work of this manufactory; and conſiderable orders are executed for the provinces. — A bronze manufactory, which was ſet up for the uſe of the conſtruction of the Iſaak church, but works now for the court and private perſons, merits honourable mention, on account of the neatneſs and taſte of its executions.—More remarkable by the mechaniſm of their conſtruction are the ſtone-cutting works at Peterhof. All the inſtruments, ſaws, turning-lathes, cutting and poliſhing engines, are worked

by water under the floor of the building. Fifty workmen are here employed in working foreign, and eſpecially ruſſian ſorts of ſtone into ſlabs, vaſes, urns, boxes, columns, and other ornaments of various kinds and magnitudes.—Many other imperial fabrics for the uſe of the army, the mint, &c. are carried on in various places; but the deſcription of them would lead us beyond our limits.

The number of private manufactories at preſent ſubſiſting in St. Peterſburg amounts to about 100. The principal materials on which they are employed, ſome on a larger and others on a ſmaller ſcale, are leather, paper, gold and ſilver, ſugar, ſilk, tobacco, diſtilled waters, wool, glaſs, clay, wax, cotton, and chintz. Leather, as is well known, is among the moſt important of their manufactures for the export trade; accordingly here are 16 tan-works. The paper manufactories amount to the like number, for hangings and general uſe. Twelve gold and ſilver manufactories ſell threads, laces, edgings, fringes, epaulets, &c. Eight ſugar-works. Seven for ſilk goods, gauze, cloths, hoſe, and ſtuffs, and ſeveral others. Here muſt not be forgotten the great glaſs-houſes ſet up by prince Potemkin, where all the various articles for uſe and ornament, of that material, are made; but

particularly that for looking-glaſſes, where they are manufactured of ſuch extraordinary magnitude and beauty, as to exceed any thing of the kind produced by the famous glaſs-houſes at Murano and Paris. Among many others which we have not room to particularize, are no leſs than five letter-foundries, one manufactory for clocks and watches, &c.

That in ſo large and opulent a city, the reſidence of a brilliant court, the neceſſary and uſeful trades ſhould find employment, may be eaſily imagined; but perhaps it is not generally known, that in a city of ſo modern a date, that for the ſupply of not only the moſt neceſſary, but alſo of the moſt frivolous demands, for the ſimpleſt not more than for the moſt artificial conveniencies, for the moſt curious as well as the moſt ordinary luxuries, here are artiſts and workſhops of all deſcriptions. Allured by the numerous wants of a great city, and the profuſion of a court, many thouſands of induſtrious and ingenious foreigners have been induced to ſettle here; by the continual influx of whom, and the communication of their talents, this reſidence is become not only the ſeat of all ingenious trades, but likewiſe a ſource of induſtry, which flows in beneficial ſtreams through all the adjacent provinces. No country has contributed

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in ſo great a degree to effect this ſalutary change as Germany; all uſeful trades, and a great part of thoſe for the accommodations of luxury, are carried on by Germans and Ruſſians alone. Next to the Germans in this reſpect come the Swedes: ſome few French live here in the capacity of *reſtaurateurs*, cooks, friſeurs, clock-makers, and ſome others. Two or three breweries and ſome handicrafts are proſecuted with ſucceſs by Engliſhmen. Germans are diſperſed all over the empire: upwards of 20,000 families dwell in the Krimea and on the ſhores of the Volga; in Moſco, Archangel, and ſeveral of the inland provinces, many, and ſome of them conſiderable families, have been domeſticated from the beginning of this century and earlier.

Of the trades which are followed almoſt excluſively by the Ruſſians, are thoſe of the bricklayer and carpenter. Beſides the bricklayers and maſons that live conſtantly at St. Peterſburg, above 6000 of them come annually from the provinces to work during the ſhort ſummer. Spacious and handſome buildings are uſually conſtructed after the plans of an architect, of whom the court has ſome of the firſt eminence in its ſervice, and under the inſpection of a ſurveyor; but all the reſt is performed by ruſſian builders. Theſe and the maſons are for the moſt

part boors, who employ their paſſport in working for the uſe and embelliſhment of the city. It is impoſſible to refrain from being ſurpriſed at the talent for imitation that forms the prominent feature in the character of this nation, on ſeeing how quickly theſe clowniſh people, deſtitute of all idea of art, attain to the utmoſt dexterity and the niceſt judgment in the execution of theſe works. The *plotniki*, or carpenters, are equally expert in the uſe of their axe, which, though ſo ſimple in its conſtruction, ſupplies with them the place of the hammer, the plane, the ſaw, and the chiſel. With this compendium of all tools they build houſes, make tables, chairs, carts—in ſhort, all the neceſſaries of common life that can be made of wood. On account of their dexterity and the cheapneſs of their labour, they are employed in the conſtruction even of brick and ſtone houſes, for executing the coarſer carpentry.

The potteries and glazed tile works are all in the hands of Ruſſians. Beſides theſe, the natives are the only butchers and gardeners. The latter cultivate every thing which the ſoil and climate can produce. As the greateſt advantage of this profeſſion is to produce vegetables at extraordinary ſeaſons, the utmoſt endeavours of theſe people are exerted to that end; and perhaps

perhaps no where under the ſame parallel are all the vegetables of the kitchen-garden produced ſo early as here. This trade is moſtly followed by boors from Roſtof and the adjacent country, who, after a few years ſtay, return home with conſiderable property, the fruit of their induſtry. How profitable this profeſſion muſt be, from the prevailing luxury of the table, may be eaſily conceived.—Prince Potemkin, during his laſt ſojourn in the reſidence, dining one day with count Chernicheff, an experimental *ſelentſchik*, green-ſeller, announced himſelf with five uncommonly fine cucumbers, which exactly at that time of the year were extremely rare, and of which the prince was known to be particularly fond. The houſe-ſteward took them of the man, and preſented them to his maſter, who was ſitting at table with the prince. The cucumbers were devoured in a trice; and the count ordered 100 rubles to be given to the green-ſeller, as a preſent for the agreeable ſurpriſe: but the latter who had already learnt that his goods were irrevocably gone, rejected the preſent, and demanded the payment of 500 rubles; till at length he was with great difficulty perſuaded to be contented with a ſmaller ſum.

Theſe and a few other leſs important trades are confined ſolely to the Ruſſians. In all the reſt

reſt the Germans are as numerous, and often more ſo than the Ruſſians. This is principally the caſe in all handicrafts that depend on faſhion, as the prejudices here are greatly in favour of foreigners. Thus, for example, there are more german taylors than ſhoemakers, in proportion to Ruſſians. Among the former are many ſubſtantial and even wealthy perſons, who, beſides their houſe in town, have another in the country, keep an equipage, and whoſe wives wear diamonds. Nay, ſeveral of them give weekly concerts and routs, and on each of the family feſtivals ſpend 100 or 150 rubles on the table. People of this ſort riſe above their trade; they become artiſts; it is not ſo much for the work as for the faſhion that they are paid. One of theſe artiſts in dreſs, whoſe good fortune and reputation have raiſed him to opulence, now undertakes nothing more than the cutting out of the clothes, and then gives them to other taylors to ſew them together; for this trouble, under the article *pour la façon,* he charges 25 rubles. Many of theſe people too are not merely taylors, but belong to the claſs called in France *marchands-tailleurs*. Their greateſt profit is in buying; they make advances, and give credit to people of rank, of whom they have frequently ſeveral thouſands of rubles to demand.

Beſides

Beſides the trades already mentioned, that of the ſmith is one of the moſt profitable; as the maſters can employ boors in the coarſe work, and who, on firſt coming from the country, are to be had at very low wages. The generality of german ſmiths ſucceed very well, build themſelves good houſes, and leave their children wherewith to begin the world. But in general, the german mechanic, all things conſidered, lives no where ſo well as here, as he can no where earn ſo much with ſo much eaſe. The buſineſs of the maſter conſiſts in looking after his workmen, in regulating the day's work, in taking of orders, and getting in his debts. At noon he ſits down to a well-furniſhed table, and the evening he paſſes in one or other of the numerous clubs in various parts of the town. Far worſe fares it with the ruſſian artiſan. His work is in ſome caſes (though certainly not in all, for the german maſter has often only ruſſian journeymen and apprentices) indeed not quite ſo good; but the price of his workmanſhip is always far inferior to the value of his labour. In very many of the mechanical trades the Ruſſians already perform all that can reaſonably be expected; and from this, and from the inſolence of the german maſters, their cuſtomers increaſe from year to year.

Moſt

Moſt of the trades that relate to luxuries are here carried on to ſuch an extent, and in ſo great perfection, as to render it, at leaſt for the reſidence, unneceſſary to import thoſe articles from abroad. The chief of theſe are works in the nobler metals. Here are 44 ruſſian and 139 foreign, conſequently in all 183 workers in gold, ſilver, and trinkets, as maſters; and beſides them ſeveral gilders and ſilverers; — a monſtrous diſproportion, when compared with thoſe employed in the uſeful and indiſpenſable buſineſſes. The pomp of the court, and the luxury of the rich and great, have rendered a taſte in works of this kind ſo common, and carried the art itſelf to ſuch a pitch, that the moſt extraordinary objects of it are here to be met with. Several of them are wrought in a ſort of manufactory: in one ſet of premiſes are all the various workmen and ſhops for completing the moſt elegant devices, ornamental and uſeful, from the rough bullion. Even the embroiderers in gold and ſilver, though they are not formed into a company, are yet pretty numerous. The works they produce are finiſhed in ſo high a taſte, that quantities of them are ſold in the ſhops that deal in engliſh or french goods, and to which they are not inferior. This buſineſs, which is a perpetual ſource of profit to a great number of

widows

widows and young women of ſlender incomes, forms a ſtrong objection to the declamations againſt luxury. Perhaps the remark is not unneceſſary, that ſham laces and embroidery cannot here be uſed, even on the ſtage. Next to theſe may be ranged the hoſt of milleners, who are moſtly of french deſcent; and here, as in Paris, together with their induſtry are endowed with a variety of agreeable and profitable talents. Their numbers are daily increaſing; and, ſurpriſing! the greater their multitude, the better they ſeem to thrive. Their work is neat, elegant, and modiſh; but they certainly bear an enormous price: a *marchande des modes*, if ſhe underſtand her buſineſs, is ſure to make a fortune. The generality of them, after completing this aim, return to their native country.

The coachmaker's trade is likewiſe here in a flouriſhing ſtate. The great concerns in which this buſineſs is carried on in all its parts, from the ſimple ſcrew to the fineſt varniſh; the ſolidity and durability, the elegance and the taſte of the carriages they turn out, the multitude of people, and, in ſhort, the large ſums of money that are employed in them, which would otherwiſe be ſent abroad for theſe vehicles, render this buſineſs one of the moſt conſequential of the reſidence. In the judgment of connoiſſeurs,

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and by the experience of ſuch as uſe them, the carriages made here yield in nothing to thoſe of Paris or London; and in the making of varniſh the Ruſſians have improved upon the Engliſh; only in point of durability the carriages are ſaid to fall ſhort of thoſe built by the famous workmen of the laſt-mentioned nation; and the want of dry timber is given as the cauſe of this failure. With all theſe advantages, and notwithſtanding the vaſt difference in price of thoſe that come from abroad, which is greatly enhanced by the high duties, yet they are yearly imported to a great amount; the blame of which practice is generally laid by the Ruſſians on the prejudices of the Engliſh merchants, (who lead the faſhions in moſt inſtances,) in favour of the carriages of their own country. The Ruſſians have ſucceeded in appropriating the far greater part of this buſineſs to themſelves; the ſhape of their carriages is in the height of the mode, the varniſh is excellent, and the outward appearance elegant and graceful; but for durability their reputation is ſtill inferior to thoſe even of the german workmen here. This cenſure applies to all the ruſſian manufactures; their exterior is often not to be found fault with; but they are deficient in the ſolidity, which ſo much recommends the work of other countries. In excuſe for the Ruſſians,

one

one thing ought not to be forgot, that they have to contend with an obſtacle that renders it impoſſible for them to employ ſo much time, labour, and expence, on their work, as are neceſſary for bringing it to the utmoſt intrinſic perfection; and which, as long as it continues, will confine and impede the progreſs of national induſtry. This obſtacle is the general prejudice in favour of engliſh commodities, which indeed is the caſe, more or leſs, in all countries; but no where in ſo high a degree, and with ſuch excluſive effects as here. The ruſſian manufacturer, therefore, naturally ſtrives to impoſe his work on the cuſtomer for foreign, and to preſs it upon him under foreign names: where this is not practicable, (as with the carriages in the Yæmſkoi, which every body knows to be ruſſian,) he is forced to ſacrifice ſolidity to outward appearance, for which he can only expect to be paid. A chariot made by a german coachmaker is not to be had under 6 or 700 rubles; whereas a ruſſian chariot can be bought for half the money; and it ſometimes happens that the latter is even more laſting than the former.

Joinery is practiſed as well by the Ruſſians as the Germans; but the cabinet-maker's art, in which the price of the ingenuity far exceeds the value of the materials, is at preſent ſolely confined

fined to ſome foreigners, amongſt whom the Germans diſtinguiſh themſelves to their honour. The artiſts of that nation occaſionally execute maſter-pieces, made at intervals of leiſure under the influence of genius and taſte, and for which they find a ready ſale in the reſidence of a great and magnificent court. Thus not long ſince one of theſe made a cabinet, which for invention, taſte, and excellency of workmanſhip, exceeded every thing that had ever been ſeen in that way. The price of this piece of art was 7000 rubles; and the artiſt declared, that with this ſum he ſhould not be paid for the years of application he had beſtowed upon it. Another monument of german ingenuity is preſerved in the academy of ſciences, in the model of a bridge after a deſign of the ſtate-counſellor Von Gerhard. This bridge, the moſt magnificent work of the kind, if the poſſibility of its conſtruction could be proved, conſiſts of 11 arches, a draw-bridge for letting veſſels paſs, diſtinct raiſed footways and landing-places, &c. The beauty of the model, and the excellency of its execution, leave every thing of the ſort very far behind. The late empreſs rewarded the artificer with a preſent of 4000 rubles, and he has ever ſince been employed by the court. Among the more capital undertakers of this claſs are people who

who keep warehouſes of ready-made goods for ſale; one in particular, who has by him to the amount of many thouſand rubles, in inlaid or parquetted floors of all kinds of wood, patterns, and colours, that only require to be put together, which may be done in a few days. Another confines himſelf to the making of coffins, of which he keeps a great quantity, of every form and ſize, and at all prices. Several of theſe dealers on a large ſcale, have neither ſhop nor tools, nor journeymen, but engage only in podriads; for example, to execute all the timber and wood-work in a new-built houſe, and then take on the neceſſary workmen, over whom they act as ſurveyors.—Before we diſmiſs this ſubject, a man and his work muſt be mentioned, who does honour to his country, Germany; and in his line has excelled any thing that the moſt refined induſtry of England and France has ever produced. The name of this man is Rœntgen; he is a native of Neuwied, and belongs to the ſect of Moravian brethren. He has lived many years, at ſeveral times, in St. Peterſburg, and has embelliſhed and enriched the palaces of the empreſs and the great perſonages of the court with the aſtoniſhing productions of his art. In the imperial hermitage are a great many pieces of furniture, cabinets, clocks, and other works,

of his invention and execution. They are compoſed of the greateſt variety of woods, to which the artiſt, by a certain preparation, has given a peculiar hardneſs and durability; and which, by the moſt laborious and extraordinary mode of poliſhing, have received a gloſs which needs no rubbing for its preſervation. The workmanſhip of theſe pieces is not leſs wonderful than their invention; not a joint is viſible; all is fitted ſo exactly together as though it were molten at one caſt: ſome are inlaid with bronze-work of the moſt beautiful and diverſified gilding; others with bas-reliefs, gems, and antiques. But the moſt ſuperlative production of this artiſt is a bureau or writing-deſk, which the empreſs preſented to the muſeum of the academy of ſciences about eight years ago. Here the genius of the inventor has laviſhed its riches and its fertility in the greateſt variety of compoſitions: all ſeems the work of enchantment. On opening this amazing deſk, in front appears a beautiful group of bas-reliefs in bronze ſuperbly gilt; which, by the ſlighteſt preſſure on a ſpring, vaniſhes away, giving place to a magnificent writing-flat inlaid with gems. The ſpace above this flat is devoted to the keeping of valuable papers or money. The bold hand that ſhould dare to invade this ſpot would immediately be its own betrayer:

for, at the leaſt touch of the table-part, the moſt charming ſtrains of ſoft and plaintive muſic inſtantly begin to play upon the ear; the organ whence it proceeds occupying the lower part of the deſk behind. Several ſmall drawers for holding the materials for writing, &c. likewiſe ſtart forward by the preſſure of their ſprings, and ſhut again as quickly, without leaving behind a trace of their exiſtence. If one would change the table-part of the bureau into a reading-deſk, from the upper part a board ſprings forward, from which, with incredible velocity, all the parts of a commodious and well-contrived reading-deſk expand, and take their proper places. But the mechaniſm of this performance of art, as well as its outward ornaments, ſhould be ſeen, as nothing can be more difficult to deſcribe. The inventor offered this rare and aſtoniſhing piece to the empreſs Catharine II. for 20,000 rubles; but ſhe generouſly thought that this ſum would be barely ſufficient to pay for the workmanſhip: ſhe therefore recompenſed his talent with a farther preſent of 5000 rubles.

Several other branches of trade and commerce might be mentioned; but theſe may ſuffice for the information of the readers of the preſent work, eſpecially as in this part of it we muſt neceſſarily conſult brevity.

For want, however, of a true ſtatement of weights, meaſures, and coins, readers juſtly complain of difficulties in comprehending the authors who treat of foreign countries: we will therefore conclude our Preliminaries with the neceſſary information on thoſe ſubjects with regard to Ruſſia.

Throughout the whole ruſſian monarchy, their chronology is kept by the julian calendar with the old ſtyle. Accordingly, as is well known, they are 11 days behind us, which, in letters and other writings that paſs in correſpondence with foreigners, is generally noticed.

Meaſures and weights are fixed by the government, and are completely the ſame all over the empire, though ſome provinces have their own denominations for certain meaſures and weights. But they are all under the cognizance of the police and the town magiſtrate, who ſtamp them, and decide all diſputes about them.

Long Measure.—The ruſſian foot is exactly the ſame with the engliſh, which was adopted by Peter the great for the fleet, and is now become the ſtandard for the whole empire. It is divided into 12 inches; every inch into 10 lines, and every line into 10 ſcruples.

The ruſſian yard is called arſhine. It is in length 28 engliſh, or 26¾ french inches. It is

divided

divided into 16 verſhoks, each of which is therefore $1\frac{5}{8}$ engliſh inches—$93\frac{3}{4}$ arſhines make 100 ells of Berlin—$97\frac{1}{2}$ arſhines make 100 ells of Amſterdam—$80\frac{10}{16}$ arſhines make 100 ells of Hamburgh, &c. At Riga they ſometimes meaſure by the ell, formerly in common uſe there, whereof 100 make only $77\frac{1}{8}$ arſhines.

The ruſſian fathom (ſajéne) is 7 engliſh feet or 3 arſhines; the engliſh and the dutch are no more than 6 feet. A german fathom contains 6 rhéniſh feet. A french toiſe is 6 french feet. A freyberg lachter is 6 feet 3 inches $10\frac{3}{4}$ lines.

A ruſſian verſt is the length of 500 fathoms (ſajéne), which are equal to 3500 engliſh feet. A geographical mile contains 6 verſts 475 ſajénes and $7\frac{1}{4}$ arſhines; and a geographical degree $104\frac{1}{4}$ verſts, or exactly ſpeaking, 104 verſts, $131\frac{1}{3}$ ſajénes, and $7\frac{1}{16}$ verſhoks. An engliſh land mile is 2 verſts and 86 ſajénes; an engliſh ſea mile 1 verſt 368 ſajénes and $2\frac{1}{2}$ arſhines; a french league 4 verſts 84 ſajénes; a ſwediſh mile 10 verſts and 17 ſajénes.

SUPERFICIAL MEASURE. — Superficies are always reckoned by ſquare verſts, deſættines, and ſquare ſajénes, but moſt commonly by deſættines. A deſættine is 80 ſajénes or 560 engliſh feet long, and 30 ſajénes or 210 feet

broad. It contains therefore 2400 ſquare ſajénes or 117,600 ruſſian and engliſh ſquare feet. In ſome provinces a deſættine is 60 ſajénes long, and 40 ſajénes broad, making 2400 ſquare ſajénes. A half deſættine is likewiſe called a tſchetvert, which conſequently contains 1200 ſquare ſajénes. An acre of Berlin contains 180 ſquare rods or 25,920 ſquare feet, a ſwediſh tonne-land, by which at times they ſtill meaſure in the governments of Riga, Reval, Viborg, and in the diſtrict of Peterſburg, compriſes 46,772 french ſquare feet.

Corn Measure.—A garnitza, which is the ſame with the oſmuka and oſmuſhka, and is the leaſt of corn meaſures, contains the eighth part of a tchetverik, or a meaſure holding 5 ruſſian pounds of dried rye. It is chiefly uſed in portioning out oats for horſes.

A kulmit of Œſel and other places, contains 3 garnitza or $\frac{3}{8}$ tchetverik.

A poltchetverik or half-tchetverik is a meaſure of $614\frac{1}{2}$ paris cubic inches. Calculated by dry rye it contains half a pood.

A tchetverik makes two poltchetveriks, and is an eighth of a tchetvert. It contains 1229 paris cubic inches, and holds a pood of dried barley.

A pai

A pai or payok is a quarter tchetvert or 2 tchetveriks, or 16 oſmuki, compriſing 2 pood or 80 pound of dried barley. An exact pai contains 2458 french cubic inches.

A poloſmina contains 2 pai or 4 tchetveriks, and comprehends 4 pood of dried rye. The ſpace of this meaſure is 4916 french cubic inches.

A meſchok or ſack is reckoned for 5 pood, and is moſt generally uſed for meaſuring meal.

A tchetvert, the fourth of an okau, and

An oſmina, are one and the ſame meaſure. It contains 64 garnitzi, and juſt as many oſmuki, 8 tchetveriks, or of dried rye 8 pood; properly 9832 french cubic inches.

A cool or mat-bag weighs, full of barley-meal, 9 pood, and is uſually reckoned equal to 10 tchetveriks.

An okau contains 4 tchetverts, therefore of dried rye 32 pood, &c. It is however, by reaſon of its inconveniency, entirely gone out of uſe.

A tonne of corn holds in Reval 5964, in Riga 6570, in Narva 8172, in Sweden 8310 french cubic inches. In Viborg 1 tonne of corn is equal in weight to 6 pood. A buſhel of Berlin contains 2604 french cubic inches.

A lof in Riga compriſes 3285 french cubic inches, equal to 27 cans. It is therefore ſomewhat above ¼ of a tchetvert, to which it is commonly reckoned equal.

A laſt in Reval holds 24 reval tonns, in Riga 24 riga tonns, or 48 lofs of rye, but of barley only 45 lofs.

LIQUID MEASURE.—A tcharka is the eleventh part of a kruſhka or oſmin.

A kruſhka or oſmin contains ⅛ of a vedro.

A tchetvert is ¼ of a vedro, or 2 kruſhki.

A vedro contains a ſpace of 610 french cubic inches, and is equal to 5 riga cans or 10 riga ſtoffs.

A botſhka (caſk) holds 4 vedro.

A ſtoff in Reval is 60, in Riga 61 french cubic inches.

A faſs in Riga holds 12 ruſſian vedro or 120 riga ſtoffs.

Nineteen vedro make 1 hogſhead or 6 ankers; 57 vedro amount to 152 engliſh gallons, one of which contains 233 french cubic inches.

WEIGHTS.—The leaſt ruſſian weight is a ſolotnik, weighing 68, but, according to the ruſſian pharmacopœia, 70 medicinal grains. In the common courſe of trade the ſolotnik is divided into ½, ¼, and ⅛; but the aſſayers, jewellers,

ellers, and goldſmiths, divide it into 96 parts, and call each a *part:* a diamond, for example, weighs $2\frac{7}{96}\frac{8}{6}$, &c.

A ruſſian lote weighs 3 ſolotniks.

A pound contains 32 lote or 96 ſolotniks, which make 8512 apothecary grains, or 7452 dutch aſſe. Five-and-forty ruſſian pounds are 38 hamburgh pounds. The parts of a pound are uſually named by ſolotniks; what, for inſtance, weighs 7 lote, is ſaid to weigh 21 ſolotniks.

An oka in Tavrida is 3 ruſſian pounds.

A dvoinik is 2, a troinik 3, a pæterik 5, and a deſæterik 10 pounds, or a quarter of a pood.

A polupood, or half a pood, weighs 20, and a whole pood 40 ruſſian pounds, or 3840 ſolotniks, which, according to riga weight, make $38\frac{1}{8}$, to reval weight 38, to nuremberg weight 35 pound and $2\frac{1}{3}$ lote. A pood is 36 engliſh pounds.

A berkovetch is 10 pood or 400 ruſſian pounds. A hundred pounds of the weight of Amſterdam are, according to that of Ruſſia, $120\frac{13}{71}$ pounds.

100 pounds of Berlin are here $114\frac{9}{17}$ pounds.

100 pounds of Hamburgh are here $124\frac{31}{51}$ pounds.

100 pounds of Sweden weigh $103\frac{20}{21}$ ruſſian pounds.

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The weight of hay is in many places reckoned by griſta and parms: a griſta is half a pood or 20 pounds; a parm is 480 griſta or 240 poods.

Coin.	Gold.	Imperial - - -	10 rubles.
		Half Imperial - -	5
	Silver.	Ruble - - - - -	100 copeeks.
		Half-ruble - -	50
		Quarter-ruble - -	25
		Twenty-copeek piece	20
		Fifteen-copeek-piece	15
		Grievnik - - -	10
		Five-copeek piece -	5
	Copper.	Petaki (5-cop. piece)	5
		Groſch - - - -	2
		Copeek - - - - -	1
		Denuſhka - - -	½
		Poluſhka - - -	¼

*** It is neceſſary to mention that the relational value of the ruble to the money of other countries varies with the courſe of exchange; it will be, however, generally adequate to all hiſtorical purpoſes, if the reader reckons the ruble at four ſhillings. Dividing by five will then give him the ſums ſpecified in pounds ſterling. This may ſerve for the period of this hiſtory: but at preſent, 1798, the ruble is worth no more than two ſhillings.

TABLE I.

ANHALT-ZERBST.

JOHN, prince of Anhalt-Zerbſt, born March 24, 1621, died June 4, 1667. Married Sophia Auguſta, daughter of Frederic, duke of Holſtein-Gottorp.

Charles William, prince, born Oct. 26, 1662; ſucc. 1667; died Nov. 8, 1718. Married Sophia, daughter of duke Auguſtus adminiſtrator of Magdeburg.

John Auguſtus, prince, born July 29, 1677; ſucc. 1718; died Nov. 7, 1742. Mar. 1. Frederica, daughter of Frederic duke of Saxe Gotha. 2. Hedvig Frederica, daughter of Frederic Ferdinand duke of Wirtemberg-Weiltingen.

Sophia Auguſta Frederica, born May 2, 1729, afterwards CATARINA ALEXIEVNA.

John Lewis, reſided at Dornburg, born March 4, 1656; died Nov. 1, 1704. Mar. Chriſtiana Eleonora von Zentſch.

John Lewis, prince, born June 12, 1688; ſucc. conjointly with his brother 1742; died Nov. 5, 1746.

William Chriſtian Frederic, born Nov. 18, 1730; died Aug. 26, 1742.

Chriſtian Auguſtus, prince, born Nov. 29, 1690; ſucc. with John Lewis 1742, pruſſian general, field-marſhal, and governor of Stettin; died March 16, 1747. Mar. Johanna Elizabeth, daughter of Chriſtian Auguſtus, biſhop of Lubeck, Nov. 8, 1727.

Frederic Auguſtus*, laſt prince of Zerbſt, born Apr. 9, 1734; died March 3, 1793. Mar. 1. Carolina Wilhelmina Sophia, daughter of Maximilian, landgraf of Heſſe Caſſel; died May 22, 1759. 2. Frederica Auguſta Sophia, daughter of Victor Frederic, prince of A. Bernburg.

* There were alſo three princeſſes, but who all died in their infancy.

TABLE II.

HOLSTEIN-GOTTORP.

Chriſtian Albert, duke of Holſtein-Gottorp, born Feb. 3, 1641, biſhop of Lubeck from 1655 to 1666. Died Dec. 27, 1694.
Married Frederica Amelia, daughter of Frederic III. king of Denmark.

Frederic IV. born Oct. 18, 1671; died July 19, 1702.
Mar. Hedvig Sophia, daughter of Charles XI. of Sweden.

Charles Frederic, born April 30, 1700; died June 18, 1739.
Mar. ANNA PETROVNA, daughter of tzar Peter the great.

CHARLES PETER ULRIC, born Feb. 21, 1728, afterwards Peter III. emperor of Ruſſia, and huſband of Catharine II.

Chriſtian Auguſtus, born Jan. 11, 1673, biſhop of Lubeck; died Apr. 25, 1727.
Mar. Albertina Frederica, daughter of Frederic Magnus, margraf of Baden-durlach.

Adolphus Fred. king of Sweden, died 1771.
Mar. Luiſa Ulrica princeſs of Pruſſia.

Guſtavus III. king of Sweden, aſſaſſinated 1792.

Guſtavus Adolphus, preſent king of Sweden.

Frederic Auguſtus, biſhop of Lubeck, died 1785.

Hedvig Elizabeth Charlotta, married to the duke of Sudermania.

Johanna Elizab. born Oct. 24, 1712; died May 30, 1760.
Mar. Chriſtian Aug. prince of Anhalt-Zerbſt.

SOPHIA AUGUSTA FREDERICA, afterwards wife of Peter III. and empreſs Catharine II.

George Lewis, born March 1, 1719; died Sept. 7, 1763.

Peter Frederic Lewis, preſent prince biſhop of Lubeck.

TABLE III.

RUSSIA.

Tzar Alexey Michailovitch succeeded in 1645, died 1676.
Married 1. Maria Iliischna Miloslauffkaia.
2. Natalia Kirilovna Narishkina.

1. Tzar Feodor III. Alexieyvitch, succ. 1676, died 1682.

1. Tzar Ivan III. Alexieyvitch succeeded with his brother Peter 1682, abdicated 1689, died 1696.
Mar. Procopia Feodorovna Solticova.

2. Tzar Peter I. Alexieyvitch the great, succ. with Ivan 1682, reigned alone from 1689, first emperor 1721; died 1725.
Mar. 1. Evdokia Feodorovna Lapoukina, died 1699.
2. Catharina I. Alexievna, reigning empress 1725; died 1727.

Catharina Ivanovna, died 1733.
Mar. Charles Leopold, duke of Mecklenburgh, 1716; died 1747.

Anna Ivanovna, empress 1730; died 1740.
Mar. Frederic William, duke of Courland, 1710; widow 1711.

Anna Carlovna (Elizabeth Catharina Christina), regent of Russia 1740, pulled down and imprisoned 1741; died 1746.
Mar. Anthony Ulric, prince of Brunswic-Wolfenbuttel, 1739. Put into prison 1741. Died 1776.

1. Alexey Petrovitch, put to death 1718.
Married: Charlotta Christina Sophia, princess of Brunswic-Blankenburg; died 1715.

Peter II. Alexieyvitch, emperor 1727, died 1730.

2. Anna Petrovna.
Mar. 1725 to Charles Fred. duke of Holstein-Gottorp; died 1728.

PETER III. Feodorovitch (Charles Peter Ulric,) emp. Jan. 5, 1762, dethroned July 9; died July 17.
Mar. Catharine II. Alexievna (Sophia Augusta Frederica), reigning empress, July 9, 1762; died Nov. 17, 1796.

2. Elizaveta Petrovna, empress 1741; died Jan. 5, 1762.

Ivan IV. (III. VI.) Antonovitch, born Aug. 23, 1740; emp. Oct. 28, 1740; deposed Dec. 6, 1741; put to death July 16, 1764.

Catharina Antonevna, born Jul. 26, 1741.

Elizabeth, born Nov. 1743, died Oct. 1782.

Peter, born 1745.

Alexey, born 1746; died Oct. 1787.

PAUL PETROVITCH,
Born Oct. 1, 1754; emperor Nov. 17, 1796.
Mar. 1. Natalia Alexievna (Wilhelmina), princess of Hesse Darmstaot, died 1776.
2. Maria Feodorovna, (Sophia Dorothea Augusta Louisa,) princess of Wirtemberg. Issue six children, all alive.

Anna Petrovna, born Dec. 20, 1757; died March 19, 1759.

LIFE

OF THE

EMPRESS CATHARINE II.

CHAP. I.

Events previous to the Revolution in the Year 1762.—Birth and early Years of the Empreſs.—Marriage with the Grand Duke Peter Fedorovitch.—Tranſactions till the Death of Elizabeth.

IT is now ſcarcely poſſible for any great events to eſcape the pen of hiſtory; and thoſe which it ſeems to record with moſt delight are the ſanguinary cataſtrophes that ſhake empires to their baſe, or cauſe the reins of government to paſs from one hand to another. Vain then would be the attempt to conceal or diſguiſe the cauſes of that revolution which, in 1762, brought the throne

throne of Ruſſia under another ſovereign. Many will, doubtleſs, be the writers who will endeavour to unveil them: and therefore it is of conſequence that poſterity ſhould faithfully be made acquainted with that tranſaction.

In order to form a true judgment of the character of Peter III. of his failings and misfortunes, we muſt firſt caſt an eye over the reign of Elizabeth, to diſcover the intrigues that were formed againſt her nephew by the ambitious and faithleſs courtiers of that princeſs.

Elizabeth Petrovna was the daughter of Peter the great and the firſt Catharine; who, notwithſtanding her great power, was obliged, at her death, to leave the throne to the young Peter II.* ſon of the unfortunate tzarovitch Alexius, decapitated by order of his father.

Peter II. reigned only three years, and was followed † by the empreſs Anne, daughter of the tzar Ivan, elder brother of Peter the firſt.

To Anne, in 1740 ‡, ſucceeded Ivan III. her nephew, being yet in his cradle; and who, by a conſpiracy headed by a german ſurgeon of french extraction, named Leſtoc, was dethroned, thirteen months afterwards §, for the

* May 18, 1727. † February 1, 1730.
‡ The 28th of October. § December 7, 1741.

purpoſe

purpoſe of raiſing Elizabeth to the ſovereign power*.

Elizabeth, it is ſaid, bore a likeneſs to the handſome Catharine, her mother, and even tranſcended her in beauty. She was of an advantageous height, and of a figure remarkably well proportioned; and though her features were rather large, her countenance diſplayed an inexpreſſible ſweetneſs, which ſhe increaſed ſtill further by the charms of a converſation, often gay, and almoſt always flattering. But if ſhe equalled her mother in thoſe advantages which render the ſociety of a woman ſo agreeable; if ſhe ſurpaſſed her in the immoderate love of pleaſure; ſhe was very far from poſſeſſing, like her, that ſtrength of mind which gives to them to whoſe ſhare it falls, the irreſiſtible aſcendant over all that ſur-

* Leſtoc became, in his turn, the victim of a cabal that was formed againſt him. The chancellor Beſtucheff, and ſeveral other courtiers, accuſed him to the empreſs Elizabeth of holding a dangerous correſpondence with the ambaſſador of Pruſſia; and the deluded princeſs ſacrificed to their animoſity the man to whom ſhe owed her crown. Leſtoc was deprived of all his property, and exiled to a miſerable village in the province of Archangel, where he was abandoned to the extremeſt indigence. Peter III. recalled him; but a part of his property was loſt, which he did not regret, any more than the court, where he ceaſed to appear, as he was now appriſed of its dangers. He died at Peterſburg in 1767.

round them. Inſtead of having the art of commanding, Elizabeth ſubmitted herſelf continually to the guidance of others; and this weakneſs was a primary cauſe of the misfortunes of Peter III.

That ſhe might ſecure her independence, Elizabeth conſtantly refuſed to take a huſband, with whom ſhe muſt have ſhared the empire; but ſhe did not the more abſtain from voluptuous gratifications, or even taſting the pleaſures of the maternal ſtate; and as, with her other infirmities, ſhe had that of being a bigot, the field-marſhal Alexey Gregorievitch Razumoffſky, her grand-veneur, ſucceeded in determining her privately to give him her hand. The counts Tarrakanoff and their ſiſter * were the fruit of this clandeſtine union. Razumoffſky †, however,

* We ſhall hereafter relate the unhappy end of this young princeſs, and the cruel treatment ſhe experienced from Catharine II. and Alexius Orloff, when ſhe was brought off by the latter from Rome, whither ſhe had been conducted by prince Radzevil.

One of the brothers, Tarrakanoff, is ſtill alive. The other died miſerably at Peterſburg. Being deſigned to be admitted into the college of Mines, he attended a courſe of chemiſtry under profeſſor Lehmann: and in ſetting on the furnace a veſſel filled with poiſonous ingredients, he broke it, and was ſuffocated.

† The empreſs Elizabeth loaded Alexius Razumoffſky with benefits. She made him a preſent of the palace Anitzkoi,

ever, was not the only lover of Elizabeth; ſhe found it agreeable to make frequent changes; but the crafty favourite permitted none to be preſented to her view, except ſuch as he thought to have too little underſtanding or ambition to attempt a competition with him.

To her propenſity to voluptuouſneſs, Elizabeth firſt added the love of good cheer, and then gave herſelf up to the pleaſures of wine. Banquets, balls, maſquerades, the moſt frivolous amuſements, were preferable in her mind to the perplexities and troubles of buſineſs; and therefore conſumed the days ſhe had promiſed to employ for the proſperity of the empire.

The perſon who, after Alexey Razumoffſky, had the moſt influence on the mind of Elizabeth, was the grand chancellor Alexey Beſtucheff Riumin*, the boldeſt and the ableſt man of all that

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nitzkoi, which, after the death of that favourite, lapſed back to the domains of the crown: and it is a remarkable circumſtance, that Catharine II. afterwards beſtowed this palace on prince Potemkin.

* The grand chancellor was the ſon of a ſcottiſh officer, named Beſt, whom Peter the great brought with him at his return from England. Beſt, which in the ruſſian language ſignifies *beaſt*, is a horrid term of abuſe, when applied to a man or woman; therefore Peter familiarly told him to

that attended the imperial court. He governed at once the empreſs, her favourite, and the miniſters of ſtate; he in a manner directed the affairs of the empire both at home and abroad.

Count Ivan Ivanovitch Shuvaloff was alſo one of the favourites of Elizabeth; but he made no other uſe of his influence than as a means of augmenting his wealth, which was already enormous; leaving the arts of intrigue to his couſin Peter Ivanovitch Shuvaloff*. Skilled in the ways of flattery, Ivan Shuvaloff made humanity and glory the chief ſubjects of his diſcourſe with the empreſs. He extorted from her, by various means, preſents of immenſe value, and inſpired her with the deſire of cauſing the hiſtory of Ruſſia to be compoſed; a deſire which he was artful enough likewiſe to turn to his advantage, by attracting to himſelf the praiſes of Voltaire.

In the mean time, Elizabeth, being determined to deprive the family of Anna Ivanovna

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change it. "If your majeſty does not approve of my name," ſaid the lieutenant, "I beſeech you to alter it to your own mind."—"Well then," returned the tzar, "let it be Beſtucheff, and thou art a Ruſſian at once."

* Peter Ivanovitch Shuvaloff had conceived the hope of ſeizing the throne to the prejudice of the grand duke; but this project appeared ſo extravagant, that Elizabeth herſelf only made it a ſubject for laughter.

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of all hope of re-aſcending the throne, in the year 1742 nominated for her ſucceſſor Charles Peter Ulric, ſon of the duke of Holſtein Gottorp, by Anne daughter of Peter the great. This young prince might by his birth have ſooner preferred his claim to the imperial crown; but the law enacted by Peter I. concerning the freedom of choice in naming a ſucceſſor *, and ſeveral revolutions, had been againſt

* Peter I. puſhing deſpotiſm to its utmoſt extremity, had made a law, which authorized the ſovereign to deſignate for his ſucceſſor whom he would. This law was eaſily eluded in a country where the exiſting monarch conſiders what has been enacted by his predeceſſors as obligatory only when it is his intereſt to do ſo, where the conſtitution and the form of government have no ſecurities. However, the law was made and adopted; and it was not for the legiſlator to be the firſt to infringe it. Peter died without deſignating his ſucceſſor, without even knowing who ſhould fill his throne. That monarch put his ſon to death, that his ſceptre might not fall into hands which he thought not able to wield it; thus ſtifling the ſentiments of paternal affection from attachment to the empire he had formed. Though apprehenſive that his painful and glorious labours would not be continued, that prince, inſtead of naming his ſucceſſor, and thereby declaring to his people him on whom he founded his hopes, died without foreſeeing the troubles, the incalculable misfortunes, ſuch a neglect might produce. What an error in a legiſlator! what inconſiſtency in the conduct of Peter! So true it is, that the greateſt man is ſometimes guilty of faults which an ordinary perſon would have avoided.

him. On the death of Peter, in 1725, his widow Catharine I. got poſſeſſion of the throne, more by the boldneſs of Mentchicoff, than in conſequence of her huſband's will. After her death, which happened in 1727, the deſcendants of Peter recovered the ſucceſſion. His grandſon, the ſon of the unfortunate Alexey Petrovitch, inherited the throne, which had been bequeathed him by his ſtep-grandmother; but with this condition, that in caſe he ſhould die without an heir, then her children by Peter the great ſhould ſucceed. By the premature death of Peter II. in 1730, the male line of the ruſſian tzars of the houſe of Romanof became extinct: the female ſucceeded of courſe. But, during the laſt reign, a council of its own erection, aſſuming the ſtyle of the high privy council, and taking upon itſelf the deſpotic deciſion in all matters of ſtate; in order to ſecure its authority, found it neceſſary to circumſcribe that of the princes. This council juſtly imagined, that the family of Peter the great would never ſubmit to any binding capitulation, and arbitrarily paſſed by his daughters. Anna Petrovna, the eldeſt, already deceaſed in 1728, was the mother of Charles Peter Ulric, duke of Holſtein Gottorp, who, therefore, for this time, loſt the ſucceſſion. The ſecond daughter, Elizabeth,

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was likewiſe paſſed over: and the views of the nation were turned to the female poſterity of the emperor Ivan Alexieyvitch. But that elder brother of Peter the great, and for a time his partner in the empire, had voluntarily relinquiſhed the government, and left it to the latter alone: accordingly the offspring of the latter ſhould of right ſucceed to the ſovereigns their progenitors, even if no regard were to be paid to the teſtament of Catharine. But in reſpect to the family of Ivan, the council now purſued a like arbitrary conduct, by excluding the eldeſt daughter Catharina and her poſterity from the throne, becauſe they dreaded the impetuous temper of her huſband, Charles Leopold, duke of Mecklenburg. The ſecond daughter Anna Ivanovna became empreſs in 1730, under a very limiting capitulation, which in a fortnight afterwards ſhe tore in pieces. The poſterity of Peter was farther and farther removed from the ſucceſſion. Anna named her nephew, the infant ſon of her elder ſiſter Catharina, who in the mean time died, to be her ſucceſſor: and this child was called to be emperor, under a regency, upon the demiſe of his aunt in 1740. Three weeks after, a revolution diſplaced the guardian Biron, duke of Courland; and from that event a year had ſcarcely elapſed when a ſecond revolu-

tion depoſed the infant emperor, the regent-mother, and the whole family. Elizabeth Petrovna was raiſed to the throne in December 1741, who immediately, as was before obſerved, called Peter, the only ſon of her deceaſed elder ſiſter Anna, in order to nominate him grand duke, and heir to the imperial throne. — Thus then, though late, the ſucceſſion was recovered by the rightful heirs, according to the law of primogeniture obſerved in all the reſt of Europe. And now, according to the cuſtom introduced univerſally in modern times among ſovereigns, the next grand concern was to unite the heir apparent in marriage with ſome european princeſs, as hitherto the tzars and emperors of the family of Romanof had taken their wives from the daughters of the ruſſian magnates.

Peter had been already duke of Gottorp ſince the year 1739, on the death of Charles Frederic his father. In December 1741, Elizabeth recalled him to the ruſſian empire, which he had quitted when a child; he arrived at St. Peterſburg in February of the following year, and in March accompanied his aunt to her coronation at Moſco. Queen Ulric Eleonora, the ſiſter of Charles XII. who brought her huſband Frederic of Heſſe-Caſſel to the throne of Sweden, having lately died, the eſtates of that kingdom were con-

ſulting on the nomination of a prince who ſhould hereafter be their king. The 16th of November they fixed their choice on the nephew of the deceaſed queen, the duke of Gottorp, of which they ſent him notice by a ſolemn embaſſy; but preciſely two days after his election in Stockholm, in Moſco he was declared heir to the ruſſian throne.

Peter now, on the 18th of November 1742, in the chapel of the imperial palace, being 14 years of age, having publicly adopted the greek religion, and received at his confirmation the name of Peter Feodorovitch *, was ſolemnly proclaimed grand duke, with the title of imperial Highneſs, and declared ſucceſſor to the throne; at the end of which ceremony all preſent took the oath to maintain his ſucceſſion.

In the year 1743, when he had attained his 16th year, the empreſs reſolved to provide him

* The ruſſian nobility always add to their own chriſtian name the chriſtian name of their father, with the termination *ovitch* or *evitch*, which denotes the ſon, as *ovna* or *evna* implies the daughter. By this means foreigners, on coming into this country, drop the name they have hitherto borne, and are known by another. Thus a Mr. John Jennings, if his father's name were John, on his arrival here is Ivan Ivanovitch, and his ſiſter Anne will be Anna Ivanovna.—Theodore, in ruſſian orthography, is Feodor, and is alſo adopted for Frederic.

a ſpouſe.

a ſpouſe. Elizabeth and the great Frederic of Pruſſia were ſtill upon amicable terms. They took up the affairs of Sweden; and the empreſs firſt made the propoſal, in 1744, to marry the new heir-apparent with Louiſa Ulrica, the king of Pruſſia's ſiſter. For, it is ſaid in the contemporary accounts, that Elizabeth propoſed to the king a connection between his youngeſt ſiſter, Anna Amelia*, and her nephew. But Frederic, who was not fond of the changes of religion required in this country on ſuch occaſions, declined the offer; the acceptance of which might perhaps have occaſioned him one formidable foe the leſs in the ſeven years war. In his turn he amicably propoſed the princeſs Sophia of Zerbſt, as a relation of the grand duke†; and this propoſal met her full approbation. The important events of the laſt fifty years it was certainly impoſſible for any one to foreſee; yet Frederic was too wiſe to turn his thoughts on any princeſs but one whom he knew to be worthy of ſo mighty an empire. He therefore prepared for Catharine the way to the ruſſian throne; and to be introduced to fortune by ſuch a judge of talents, made her ſucceſs more honourable.

* She died abbeſs of Quedlinburg in 1787.

† Their grandfathers were brothers.

The

The father of Sophia Auguſta Frederica was Chriſtian Auguſtus, prince of Anhalt-Zerbſt-Dornburg, at that time major-general in the pruſſian ſervice, commander in chief of the regiments of infantry, and governor of the town and fortreſs of Stettin. Her mother, a woman of parts and beauty, a friend and correſpondent of Frederic prince royal of Pruſſia, of about the ſame age with herſelf, was born princeſs of Holſtein, and therefore nearly related to the three great families of the north. — On the death of John Auguſtus, reigning prince of Zerbſt, the 7th of November 1742, without iſſue, he was ſucceeded by his two couſins conjointly in the government, John Lewis and Chriſtian Auguſtus. The eldeſt of theſe brothers died, unmarried, the 5th of November 1746; the now ſole prince Auguſtus ſurvived him not long, only to the 16th of March 1747, when he died a general feldt-marſhal in the pruſſian ſervice, and governor of Stettin. Beſide his daughter, he left behind him only one ſon, who had not yet completed his 13th year. The dowager princeſs was called to the regency, and governed in his name till July 31, 1752, when the young prince, on being declared of age by the emperor, took the government upon him. The mother, as in ſimilar caſes had often been done by the

princes

princes of Germany, retired to Paris, where ſhe died the 20th of May 1760. The ſon Frederic Auguſtus bore no reſemblance, either in mind or diſpoſitions, to his illuſtrious ſiſter. He died in 1793, in foreign parts, where he had latterly lived, lamented by none. He had been twice married, but was always childleſs: the branch Zerbſt of the houſe of Anhalt became extinct with him.

The princeſs Sophia, of whom we are now to ſpeak, and whom fortune early called to act a part upon a higher ſtage than that of Zerbſt, was born at Stettin the 2d of May 1729*; conſequently

* This year, 1729, given in all the almanacs and genealogical tables, is now, and was even during the life of the empreſs, called in queſtion. Some affirm her to have been older by two years; though the marriage of her parents was only conſummated a year and a half before. It is pretended that ſhe was afterwards ſtated to be younger, probably from a piece of gallantry by no means unuſual towards ladies; or, according to another phraſeology which we meet in the Moniteur, (which abruptly pronounces the year of her birth uncertain,) that ſhe might appear younger than her huſband, as the contrary is even prohibited by the canons of the greek church. But her huſband, as we learn from the family pedigree, was her elder by a year and a quarter. Others, on the contrary, declare her to be younger; and that on her tranſition to the greek church, it was objected to her, that ſhe was not, by ſeveral years, competent to this religious

quently four years after the death of Peter the great, and two years after that of the first Catharine, and in the territory of Frederic, with whom she afterwards shared the renown of the present century. Her mother took the care of her education on herself. Burghers are still living in Stettin, who remember in their childhood to have played with the princess; for she was brought up in the simplest manner, and was called by her parents, in the common diminutive of her name, Fiékè. Good-humour, intelligence, and spirit were even then the striking features of her character. Whatever was the

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religious act.—Her age at that time was fifteen years and two months.

The whole of this report, which has been far enough spread to deserve a refutation, is entirely unfounded. As a proof, we will only refer to a little book, which, though of itself insignificant, yet on this occasion, in regard to the time, and as there is no reason to suspect it of incorrectness, must be held valid;—the Berlin Calendar of the year 1731. (It is well known that a calendar is printed in the year before that for which it is to serve; and its accounts are therefore of the second year previous to that of the date it bears on its title-page.) In this we read the following article:

"Illustrious births from 1 Jan. to ult. December 1729.

"Soph. Aug. Friederika, daughter of the prince of "Anhalt-Zerbst, gen. major in the service of the king of "Prussia, and command. at Stettin, the 2d of May."

play,

play, ſhe always took upon herſelf the principal part, and made her little companions know theirs, ſometimes with the full emphaſis of command. A lady of quality, who frequently ſaw her, deſcribes her in the following manner: "Her deportment from her earlieſt years was "always remarkably good; ſhe grew uncom- "monly handſome, and was a great girl for her "years. Her countenance, without being beau- "tiful, was very agreeable: to which the pecu- "liar gaiety and friendlineſs which ſhe ever diſ- "played gave additional charms. Her educa- "tion was conducted by her mother alone, who "kept her ſtrictly, and never ſuffered her to "ſhew the leaſt ſymptoms of pride, to which "ſhe had ſome propenſity; accuſtoming her, "from her earlieſt infancy, to ſalute the ladies "of diſtinction, who came to viſit the princeſs, "with the marks of reſpect that became a child; "an honour which my mother on all ſuch oc- "caſions enjoyed, and which ſhe was obliged "never to omit, by the expreſs command of "the princeſs."

Theſe days, which Sophia paſſed in eaſy ſeclusion, were always recollected by Catharine with pleaſure. While arbitrary ſovereign of the ruſſian empire, ſhe ſtill retained ſentiments of affection for the place of her birth, and for

ſeveral

ſeveral perſons of her former acquaintance. She annually ſent to the magiſtrate of Stettin the medals ſhe cauſed to be ſtruck in commemoration of the events of her reign, as well in gold as in ſilver. Shortly after her coming to the crown, ſhe ſent to the ſociety of markſmen of the town a preſent of 1000 ducats. In her youth ſhe had frequently attended the amuſements of theſe burghers, and at times even ſhot at the mark. Soon after her arrival in Peterſburg, ſhe ſent the lady who waited upon her, and gave her the firſt leſſons in the french language*; ſome beautiful furs; and to her writing-maſter†, a ſum of money. In the very late years of her life, ſhe tranſmitted her picture, accompanied with the moſt flattering expreſſions of eſteem, to a lady formerly her playmate. This lady, who has permitted herſelf to be named as the communicator of theſe anecdotes of the early life of Catharine, is the counteſs von Mellin, at Gartz. The particulars, though trifling in themſelves, yet, as authentically relating to the illuſtrious ſubject of theſe memoirs, are of conſequence enough to be inſerted here.

* A demoiſelle Quardel, then married to a burgomaſter of Demmin.

† Laurent, the ſchoolmaſter belonging to the french congregation in Stettin.

She

She lived till her fifteenth year alternately in Stettin and in Dornburg or in Zerbſt; but ſhe always accompanied her mother on ſeveral little journies, which contributed much to the forming of her mind and manners. The princeſs often made ſome ſtay at Hamburg with her mother, the widow of the biſhop of Lubeck, at whoſe court was a M. von Brummer, who filled the poſt of a gentleman of the bed-chamber*, who communicated to the young princeſs the moſt inſtructive works of the then living authors, which had a beneficial effect on her mind and heart. She was always addicted to reading, to reflection, to learning, and to employment. Still oftener was the princeſs at Brunſwick, with her relation and former preceptreſs, Elizabeth Sophia Maria, dowager ducheſs of Wolfenbuttel, born princeſs of Holſtein-Norburg. Here ſhe uſed ſometimes to paſs the whole ſummer; ſhe was there alſo in December 1743, and cauſed her daughter Sophia to be daily inſtructed in the doctrines of the lutheran religion, by the court-preacher Dovè, who at that time little thought that his illuſtrious diſciple would ſo ſuddenly afterwards adopt the very different faith of an-

* Afterwards an oberhof-marſhal von Brummer went from Holſtein with the grand duke Peter to Ruſſia. *Query*, whether the ſame?

other

other church. The viſits to Berlin were likewiſe not unfrequent; for example, in January 1742, on occaſion of the marriage ceremony of the prince of Pruſſia, father of the preſent king; and for the laſt time about the beginning of the year 1744, whence the journey was farther continued to Ruſſia.

In the ſpring of the year 1742, ſhortly before her departure from Stettin, the young princeſs wrote the following ſhort note to the counteſs von Mellin:

" MADAME, à Stettin, ce 20 Mars 1742.

" Je ne manquerai pas de vous envoyer mon " portrait, puiſque vous me faites l'honneur de " me le demander; & je vous prie, madame, de " l'accepter comme un gage de mon amitié, & " vous prie en même tems de me conſerver auſſi " la vôtre. Je me recommande à l'honneur de " vôtre ſouvenir, & ſuis,

" Madame,

" Votre fidele amie & ſervante,

" SOPHIE AUGUSTE FRIDERIQUE."

As, ſo far as it appears, Catharine afterwards never returned to Stettin, theſe lines were moſt probable intended as an affectionate farewel*.

Three

* With the mother of the princeſs the counteſs always continued an epiſtolary correſpondence, but with the latter

Three years after Peter had been called to Ruſſia, it was therefore agreed to marry him with

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it dropped, who ſeemed likewiſe to have forgotten the promiſed portrait. After ſhe had aſcended the throne as empreſs, the counteſs von Mellin ſought various opportunities of reminding her of it; but probably the letters never reached her hand, as no anſwer enſued. The hope of obtaining the picture was therefore abandoned.

At the inſtance of her ſon, however, to whom ſhe ſhewed the note, the counteſs wrote once more to the empreſs in 1789, incloſing the lines in her own hand-writing, and delivered it to the care of her nephew, count Auguſtus von Mellin, preſident in Riga, who has made himſelf ſo famous by his excellent maps of Livonia. Very ſoon afterwards ſhe was agreeably ſurpriſed at receiving, by the hands of count Neſſelrode, ambaſſador from Ruſſia at the court of Berlin, not only an exceedingly fine miniature of the empreſs, richly ſet with diamonds, accompanied with a golden *ſouvenir*, alſo ſet with brilliants, with the cypher E. II. (Ekatarina the ſecond), but alſo this very gracious letter:

" Madame la comteſſe de Mellin. Vous m'avez fait " plaiſir de me rappeller la promeſſe que je vous avois laiſſée " par écrit, en partant de Stettin, de vous envoyer mon " portrait. Il eſt vrai que les nombreuſes diſtractions dans " leſquelles je fus dès lors entrainée, me firent perdre cet " engagement de vue; mais il n'en a pas été de même de " votre ſouvenir, celui-ci ne s'eſt point effacé de mon " eſprit, & je me ſuis ſouvent retracé les momens agréables " que j'ai paſſés en votre ſociété. Vous m'avez donné de " votre côté une preuve bien convaincante de votre attache- " ment pour moi, en conſervant un ſi grand nombre d'an-

" nées,

with Sophia Auguſta of Anhalt-Zerbſt*, who was about one year younger than himſelf, and who, on embracing the greek religion, changed her name to that of Catharina Alexievna, a name which ſhe has rendered ſo illuſtrious ſince.

All Europe was deceived on the cauſes of this alliance, which was attributed to the intervention of the king of Pruſſia. It is true that Frederic was deſirous of ſeeing it brought to effect, but, without a motive unconnected with politics, the ſollicitations of that monarch would have fallen to the ground.

" nées mon billet que vous venez de m'addreſſer en original.
" Je vous le renvoye conformément à vos déſirs, en y joi-
" gnant le portrait dont je ſuis reſtée votre débitrice. Vous
" n'y reconnoitrez plus les traits ſous leſquels vous m'avez
" autrefois connue, mais je vous prie de croire que mes ſen-
" timens pour vous ſont encore les mêmes, que je prendrai
" toujours beaucoup d'intérêt à ce qui vous concerne, &
" que je vous ſouhaite un bonheur conſtant juſqu'à la fin de
" vos jours. Si ces aſſurances de ma part peuvent ajouter
" quelque choſe à votre contentement, je vous les donne de
" bien bon cœur, étant très parfaitement, Madame la com-
" teſſe de Mellin,

" Votre bien affectionnée,

" A St. Peterſbourg, " CATHERINE.
" ce 31 Mars 1789."

* She was born April 25, 1729.

Long ere ſhe mounted the throne of the tzars, Elizabeth had been promiſed to the young prince of Holſtein-Eutin, brother to the princeſs of Anhalt-Zerbſt, mother of Catharine; but at the inſtant when the marriage was about to be celebrated, the prince fell ſick, and died. Elizabeth, who loved him to exceſs, became inconſolable; and in the bitterneſs of her grief made a vow to renounce the nuptial tie: a vow which, as we have already obſerved, was, at leaſt as to the public, religiouſly kept. Even if Elizabeth was ſeen afterwards to yield to the gallantries of ſeveral of her courtiers, ſhe nevertheleſs retained a lively tenderneſs for the object of her firſt affection. She paid a ſort of worſhip to his memory, and never mentioned him without tears.

The princeſs of Anhalt-Zerbſt, not ignorant of the tender remembrance preſerved by Elizabeth for her brother, reſolved to take advantage of it for ſecuring a throne to her daughter. She truſted her plan to the king of Pruſſia, who applauded her for it, and ſhortly after ſupported it with all his might.

The princeſs of Zerbſt repaired to Peterſburg, where Elizabeth received her with friendſhip. Her daughter, who was handſome, and endowed with all the graces of youth, immediately made

a pretty

a pretty forcible impreſſion on the heart of the young grand duke; and as he himſelf was at that time well made, and of a very good figure, the attachment became reciprocal; and it was ſoon the ſubject of the converſations at court. Elizabeth herſelf remarked them without ſeeming to be diſpleaſed. The princeſs of Zerbſt, who ſpied the favourable moment, loſt no time, but ran and threw herſelf at the feet of the empreſs, repreſented to her the inclination of the two young lovers as an unconquerable paſſion; and calling to her mind the love ſhe had herſelf borne to the prince of Holſtein, her brother, ſhe conjured her to promote the happineſs of the niece of that ſo much regretted prince.

There was, doubtleſs, no need of all this for determining the empreſs to conſent to their union. She mingled her tears with thoſe of the princeſs of Zerbſt; and, embracing her, promiſed her that her daughter ſhould be grand ducheſs.

The day following the choice of Elizabeth was announced to the council and to the foreign miniſters. The marriage was fixed for a day ſhortly to arrive; and preparations for its celebration were arranged with a magnificence worthy of the heir of the throne of the Ruſſians.

But fortune, which had hitherto ſeemed ſo favourable to the grand duke, now began to change its courſe; and Catharine was threatened with the loſs of her lover, as Elizabeth had been deprived of hers. The grand duke was attacked with a violent fever; and a ſmall-pox of a very malignant nature ſoon after made its appearance. The prince, however, did not fall under the violence of this diſeaſe, though he retained the cruel marks of it. The metamorphoſis was terrible. He not only loſt the comelineſs of his face, but it became for a time diſtorted, and almoſt hideous.

None were permitted to approach the young princeſs from the apartment of the grand duke; but her mother regularly brought her tidings of the turns of the prince's diſtemper. Obſerving how much he was altered, and deſirous of weakening the effect the firſt ſight of him might have upon her daughter, ſhe deſcribed him as one of the ugliеſt men imaginable; recommending her, at the ſame time, to diſſemble the diſguſt ſhe muſt naturally feel at his appearance. Notwithſtanding this ſage precaution, the young princeſs could not reviſit the grand duke without feeling a ſecret horror; ſhe was artful enough, however, to repreſs her emotion, and running to meet him, fell upon his neck, and embraced him with

marks

marks of the moſt lively joy. But no ſooner was ſhe retired to her apartment than ſhe fell into a ſwoon; and it was three hours before ſhe recovered the uſe of her ſenſes.

The uneaſineſs which the young princeſs had juſt experienced, was however no inducement to her to endeavour at deferring the period of her union with the grand duke. The empreſs contemplated this alliance with pleaſure; the princeſs of Zerbſt was paſſionately deſirous to ſee it concluded; and the ſuggeſtions of ambition acting more powerfully on the heart of Catharine than even the will of her mother, and that of the empreſs, permitted her not a moment's heſitation.

The nuptials were accordingly ſolemnized; but, notwithſtanding the attachment which was ſo manifeſt between the grand duke and the princeſs from the firſt moment of their meeting, their love was fated not to be of long duration; however, they lived ſome time in an apparently good underſtanding, which Catharine ſupported as long as ſhe conceived it to be neceſſary.

This princeſs, brought up with all poſſible care under the eye of a prudent mother, and at no great diſtance from the court of the great

Frederic, where reigned ſuch a taſte for the ſciences and the fine arts, added to the beauty, and to the quickneſs of underſtanding which ſhe had received from nature, a very extenſive knowledge, and the facility of expreſſing herſelf with elegance in ſeveral languages.

Peter too had ſenſe; but his education had been totally neglected. He poſſeſſed an excellent heart; but he wanted politeneſs. He was of a good ſtature, but ugly and almoſt deformed. He frequently bluſhed at the ſuperiority of his wife, and his wife often bluſhed at ſeeing him ſo little worthy of her; the alteration that had taken place in the features of the prince's viſage was not the ſole cauſe of the indifference of his young conſort: in ſhort, he was not capable of making her happy *. Hence

* Il avoit une imperfection qui, quoiqu' aiſée à détruire, ſembloit bien plus cruelle: la violence de ſon amour, ſes efforts réitérés ne purent le faire réuſſir à conſommer le mariage. Si ce prince étoit confié à quelqu'un qui eut un peu d'expérience, l'obſtacle qui s'oppoſoit à ſes déſirs eut été vaincu. Le dernier rabin de Peterſbourg ou le moindre chirurgien l'en auroit délivré. Mais telle étoit la honte dont l'accablé ce malheur qu'il n'eut pas même le courage de le révéler, & la princeſſe, qui ne recevoit plus ſes careſſes qu'avec répugnance, & qui n'étoit pas alors moins inexpérimentée que lui, ne ſongea ni à le conſoler, ni à lui faire chercher des moyens qui le ramenaſſent dans ſes bras.

aroſe

aroſe that mutual diſlike which the people of the court were not long in finding out, and which was viſibly augmenting from day to day.

By one of thoſe ſtrange perverſions of judgment, which often appear in the uncultivated mind, Elizabeth pretended to think that her nephew was too well informed, and that he was in danger of becoming too amiable by his manners, and too enviable by his knowledge. From the very moment of her chooſing him for her ſucceſſor, ſhe regarded him as a rival. For this reaſon it probably was, that ſhe took him from under the tuition of the enlightened Brumner, who had begun his education in Holſtein; and placed about him Tſhoglokoff, a man of mean talents and a narrow mind. In vain did a few diſintereſted perſons at the court of Peterſburg, for there are ſome ſuch in all courts; in vain did ſome eſtimable women, for there were ſome ſuch even about Elizabeth; in vain did theſe perſons, lamenting the ignorance and the ſort of deſertion in which the young Peter was left, endeavour to repreſent to his aunt the danger he incurred: the empreſs was deaf to their remonſtrances, and even on ſome occaſions repulſed them with harſhneſs.

Among

Among many examples one only need be mentioned, that of a woman of the bed-chamber named Johanna, who had the ſpirit to aſk this princeſs why ſhe kept the grand duke from all the deliberations of the council. "If you permit "him not to know any thing of what is ne-"ceſſary for governing the country," added ſhe, "what do you think will become of him, and "what do you think will become of the empire?" All the anſwer ſhe got, was, that Elizabeth, looking at her angrily, ſaid, "Johanna, knoweſt "thou the way to Siberia?"—However, the generous Johanna eſcaped with only the fright, and took care for the future to make no more remonſtrances on that head to her miſtreſs.

But, if ſome few dared to lift up their voice in favour of Peter, a great many others made themſelves heard againſt him. The principal families had beheld him with jealouſy from the inſtant of his arrival, as a man who would ſhare with them the power they had now long enjoyed, or perhaps entirely deprive them of it. Among thoſe who ſtrove the moſt to injure him, we may reckon the great chancellor Beſtucheff. From the very day of the grand duke's marriage, he had formed the deſign of excluding that prince from the throne; and though his

plan

plan was ſo bold and dangerous, he was perpetually employed about the means of bringing it to effect. His foreſight was too great to allow him to flatter himſelf with the expectation of ſeeing Peter completely diſinherited, but he hoped at leaſt to baniſh him to the camps and armies, and to place Catharine at the head of affairs.

No ſooner had Beſtucheff matured his plan, than he communicated it to ſeveral of the courtiers whom he knew to have imbibed the ſame rancour with himſelf. Even women were admitted into the confidence, and they were not the leaſt ſerviceable in promoting the chancellor's plan. This miniſter conducted his intrigue with the utmoſt addreſs. He every day wrote the inſtructions which he gave to the perſons of his party, on ſmall ſcraps of paper, and in terms which could be underſtood by none but themſelves; then ſhutting theſe papers in a ſnuff-box with a double bottom, under pretence of offering ſnuff, he diſtributed them to the individuals for whom they were deſigned. By this means his confidants were informed of all they were to ſay or to do throughout the day. Their principal employment was to blacken the grand duke in the eyes of Elizabeth. They magnified his ſlighteſt defects, they aggravated his moſt venial faults, they imputed to him vices which

which he had not as yet, and which they wanted to make him contract. They even went ſo far as to alarm the empreſs with fears that her nephew might become dangerous to her authority.

The feeble-minded Elizabeth was but too prone to lend an ear to theſe vile inſinuations. Naturally timid and ſuſpicious, ſhe at length abhorred him whom ſhe had no reaſon to diſtruſt for a ſingle moment.

But to what cauſe are we to aſcribe this conduct in the ambitious Beſtucheff? Keen and crafty, this miniſter had long perceived the grand duke's character to be feeble and unſettled. Doubtleſs, with equal perſpicacity, he had obſerved that the grand ducheſs was the very reverſe of her huſband. Ought he not then reaſonably to have expected, that if they mounted the throne, it would be more eaſy for him to govern the prince than the princeſs? No; he cheriſhed no ſuch expectation; for he knew that Peter entertained a ſtrong reſentment againſt him for over-reaching the duke his father, in relation to his hereditary eſtates in Holſtein.

Beſtucheff, who had applied himſelf to buſineſs and intrigue for more than forty years; Beſtucheff, who, after having accompanied the ruſſian ambaſſadors

ambaſſadors at the congreſs of Utrecht, had formed his mind in England under the miniſters of George I. and who, at his return to Peterſburg, had been appointed miniſter to the court of Copenhagen, and thence went to Hamburgh in quality of envoy extraordinary to the circle of Lower Saxony; Beſtucheff, paſſing through Kiel, had had the impudence and dexterity to carry off from the archives of the dukes of Holſtein the teſtament of the empreſs Catharine I. and the original acts relating to the connections of thoſe dukes with Ruſſia.—This it was that Peter could never forgive; and Beſtucheff ſeverely felt it.

Peter likewiſe on another account entertained a diſlike to the chancellor; he always ſupported the intereſts of the houſe of Auſtria with his aunt, againſt the king of Pruſſia, to whom this young prince had devoted himſelf with a ſort of idolatry.

The grand chancellor had had the addreſs to bring into his party almoſt all thoſe for whom Peter ſeemed to have an inclination, and who only approached him as ſpies upon his actions in order to injure him. Of this number was Cyril Razumoffſky, who had made one of thoſe fortunes which are regarded as prodigies in other countries, but which are very frequent in Ruſſia.

Cyril

Cyril was a peaſant who, immediately on being informed of the favour which the field marſhal his brother enjoyed with the empreſs, ſet out from the Ukraine, his native place, and arrived with his balalaika * at Peterſburg. Cyril was preſently created count, commander of the iſmailof guards, hetman of the Kozaks of Little Ruſſia, and even preſident of the academy of ſciences †. Though of an extraction ſo groſs, and without education, Cyril Razumoffſky, cunning and pliant, inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of the grand duke ‡; and, though but lately come to court, he betrayed the prince with an effrontery and baſeneſs worthy of an experienced courtier.

To the deſire of promoting the aims of the grand chancellor, were ſoon added, in the heart of Cyril Razumoffſky, the motives of perſonal vengeance. In proportion as his honours in-

* A rude ſort of guitar, with only three ſtrings, in common uſe among the ruſſian boors.

† He was in the ſequel knight of the orders of St. Andrew, of St. Alexander Nefski, of St. Anne, and of the white eagle of Poland.

‡ The grand duke called him *his brother*, *his friend*, which is not extraordinary, as *drug moi* and *bratitz* are common terms of familiar addreſs and ſalutation from ſuperiors as well as equals: but Peter would have Cyril Razumoffſky to give him the ſame appellations.

creaſed,

creaſed, he only bore with impatience the humours of the grand duke; who, to ſay the truth, in the orgies to which Cyril himſelf would excite him, frequently recalled to his mind, in too coarſe a manner and too publicly, his birth, his balalaika, and the ſervile occupations of his youth.

The grand duke had another favourite, who did not betray him; but who unhappily had neither the foreſight nor the addreſs to prevent the reſt from betraying him: this was his aide-de-camp general Gudovitch. A native of Little Ruſſia, Gudovitch wiſhed to become its hetman, and Peter favoured his pretenſions, even in the ſight of Cyril Razumoffſky. Thenceforward Cyril vowed in his heart an implacable hatred to the prince.

He offered the grand chancellor a country-houſe which he poſſeſſed not far from Kamennoinoſs, as a place where they might deliberate more at their eaſe on the project of ruining the grand duke; and it was at that very houſe that afterwards were held all thoſe traitorous councils, at the head whereof were at firſt Beſtucheff, Cyril, and afterwards Shuvaloff, the young princeſs Daſhkoff, and Maria Simeonovna Tſhoglokoff, lady of honour to the empreſs, and one of her moſt dangerous confidants. The conſpirators conſulted concerning the perſons whom they wanted

to aſſociate with them. They gave an exact account of all the ſteps they had ſeverally taken, prepared new projects of attack, and concerted the ſureſt meaſures to deprive of the throne the laſt ſprout from the ſtem of Peter the great.

They wanted, for example, to perſuade the empreſs that her nephew was addicted to drunkenneſs, even long before he was in the habit of drinking to any degree of exceſs, a habit which he contracted at firſt, without doubt, merely from the want of employment, from the irkſomeneſs of his ſituation, and from the baſe ſuggeſtions of thoſe that ſurrounded him. The method they adopted was the following:

Simeonovna Tſhoglokoff, diſcourſing one day with Elizabeth, and perceiving that the monarch was diſcontented with the grand duke, ſhe told her with an afflicted air, that it was a great misfortune that this prince, who was ſtill ſo young, ſhould give himſelf to drinking. Elizabeth, who now for the firſt time heard the grand duke accuſed of that vice, conſidered it as mere calumny, and defied Simeonovna to make good her aſſertion. "Nothing is eaſier," returned the impudent Simeonovna. "Your majeſty "may be convinced of it by your own eyes." A few days afterwards, knowing that the grand duke was a little out of order and kept his room,

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ſhe went to viſit him; when, watching her opportunity, ſhe aſked him permiſſion to keep him company at dinner. Peter good-naturedly conſented, and bid her place herſelf at table with him. During the repaſt, Simeonovna putting on a humour uncommonly gay and fond, told the prince that ſhe would cure him with a bottle of champagne. The bottle was called for; the artful Simeonovna ſeized it, ſlily threw into it ſome narcotic or inebriating ingredient, and, making the grand duke repeatedly drink bumpers of it to the health of his aunt, ſhe completely intoxicated him. The perfidious lady of honour immediately ran to acquaint the empreſs. Elizabeth came; and, not knowing the particulars of the ſcene that had juſt paſſed, beheld with grief and indignation the ſad condition of her unhappy nephew. Already too much diſpoſed to take up prejudices againſt him, ſhe thenceforward more readily believed all that Simeonovna Tſhoglokoff and her accomplices were deſirous of imputing to the prince; and, emboldened by this ſucceſs, the conſpirators proceeded in their inſolence to propagate againſt him the moſt ſcandalous reports.

To all this, it muſt be added that the ſtate of inactivity and lonelineſs in which Peter was left

to languiſh, and the unhappy pliancy of his character, tended infallibly to favour the deſigns of his enemies.

When the empreſs was perſuaded that he delivered himſelf up to exceſs, ſhe not only ſuppreſſed the gratification of fifty thouſand rubles, of which ſhe cuſtomarily made him a preſent on the anniverſary of his birth, but ſhe gave orders ſo far to diminiſh the expences of his table, that the prince and his gueſts had not always ſufficient to eat. Peter on theſe occaſions would ſuffer ſome complaints to eſcape him not entirely free from expreſſions of petulance and ill-humour; and theſe complaints were carefully preſerved, exaggerated, and delivered to the empreſs.

Shortly after the marriage of the grand duke, his aunt had made him a preſent of Oranienbaum; a country-palace that had formerly belonged to the famous Mentchikoff; and as ſoon as the fair weather permitted him to leave Peterſburg, where he lived more like a ſtate priſoner than the heir to the throne, thither Peter uſed to retire. There, freed from the preſence of his aunt, and throwing off all conſtraint, he amuſed himſelf with dreſſing his people in a german uniform, and making them perform the pruſſian exerciſe.

exerciſe. Elizabeth ſeemed highly to approve of this occupation, thinking it might preſerve her nephew from getting a taſte for dangerous pleaſures, and even from a diſpoſition to political intrigues, which ſhe conſidered as far more dangerous ſtill. At the ſame time ſhe gave orders that, from ſeveral regiments, a ſufficient number of ſoldiers ſhould be drafted and ſent to the garriſon at Oranienbaum, in addition to thoſe of the grand duke; but this attention, which wore the ſemblance of a favour conferred on the prince, was perhaps nothing more than an additional precaution againſt him. However this might be, he received it with tranſport, and gave himſelf up, with renovated ardour, to his military and pruſſian inclination.

It has long been the cuſtom for numbers of Germans to go and ſeek their fortunes in Ruſſia. The elevation of a holſtein prince to the rank of grand duke drew them thither in ſtill greater multitudes. The ſoldiers whom Peter kept at Oranienbaum were almoſt all of that nation. Beſides theſe, he had made a ſelection of many others who underſtood muſic or diſplayed talents for acting of plays; and of theſe he formed a company, whom he made to repreſent the beſt pieces of the german theatre.

However, neither the theatre nor military exerciſes could employ the whole time of the prince; and the void was but too often filled up with the habits he had begun to contract in the indolence of the palace of Peterſburg.

The party formed againſt him, knowing his extreme propenſity to every thing that was pruſſian, had found means to perſuade him that in Pruſſia every officer had continually his pipe in his mouth, and was as conſtantly employed in drinking and gaming. The young people who ſurrounded him added, if not from malice, at leaſt from libertiniſm, example to precept; and, in conformity to it, he became ſmoaker, drinker, gameſter.

Catharine all this time was purſuing a conduct diametrically oppoſite to that of her huſband. Directed by her vigilant mother, ſhe was ſolely employed in gaining partiſans from among the moſt powerful perſons of the court. Her violent diſpoſition to pleaſure was mute at the calls of ambition; and if ſhe did not ſucceed ſo far as to captivate the friendſhip of the empreſs, ſhe at leaſt extorted her eſteem.

In the mean time, what will perhaps ſeem difficult to be believed, the princeſs of Zerbſt was neglectful of that circumſpection, with regard to herſelf, which ſhe inſpired into her daughter.

daughter. Elizabeth conſidered her as a friend or a ſiſter, and repoſed an unlimited confidence in her. Proud of her influence, the princeſs of Zerbſt ſeemed in haſte to abuſe it. She mixed in the intrigues of the courtiers, made herſelf the diſpenſer of imperial favours, in ſhort, ſhe pryed into the ſecrets of the moſt important concerns. Her arrogance diſguſted the favourites, her curioſity was vexatious to the miniſters. They united together to rouſe the jealouſy of the empreſs, and to free her from a yoke under which ſhe had inſenſibly bowed her neck. Their efforts were not in vain. Elizabeth almoſt immediately withdrew the confidence ſhe had granted to the mother of Catharine.

The princeſs of Zerbſt, diſtreſſed at this reverſe of fortune, turned on every ſide for a remedy. She aſked advice of the king of Pruſſia and of the king of Sweden; but ſhe was obſerved with a watchful eye. It became extremely difficult for her to maintain correſpondences. She was fain to have recourſe to the refinements of artifice to get a letter conveyed to the king of Sweden. On one occaſion ſhe adopted the following method: A ball was given at court; the princeſs of Zerbſt was there with the grand ducheſs her daughter. All at once the grand ducheſs advanced towards the aged

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Leſtoc, who, according to his cuſtom, was amuſing himſelf in chatting with the women; and, throwing a glove at him, ſhe ſaid ſhe would dance with him. On taking up the glove, Leſtoc perceived that it contained a paper. On this the artful courtier, ſmiling to the grand duchefs, ſaid, "I accept the challenge, madam; "but, inſtead of reſtoring you your glove, I "beſeech you to give me the other, that I may "preſent them both, from you, to my wife; "the favour will then be complete." The country dance being finiſhed, Leſtoc ſtole away, hiding the gloves under his waiſtcoat, fearing leſt the empreſs might have ſome intelligence of what had paſſed, and ſhould cauſe him to be ſearched at the door.

All the ſtratagems put in practice by the princeſs of Zerbſt were not ſo ſucceſsful. Every day brought with it ſome complaint againſt her, or diſcovered ſome freſh intrigue. The reſentment of the empreſs was now at its height; ſhe ordered the princeſs to quit the empire.

The princeſs of Zerbſt, at parting from her daughter, experienced the moſt poignant ſorrow. Catharine herſelf could not, without great regret, ſee her mother depart; but the hope of the throne which had fortified her againſt other misfortunes, ſupported her under this; and love

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ſoon brought its conſolations to mingle them with thoſe of pride.

The young men that ſurrounded the grand duke did not all, like the prince, reſign themſelves entirely to the pleaſures of the table, to play, and to military parade. There was eſpecially one who diſtinguiſhed himſelf as much by his taſte for the amiable arts, as he was admired for the graces of his perſon: it was Soltikoff, the prince's chamberlain. He made one in all his parties: but he was aſhamed of his company. He was tolerably well verſed in french literature; he knew by heart the fineſt paſſages of Racine and Voltaire, and in the recitation of them his voice ſeemed to heighten their beauties. Though ſcarcely outgrown the boy, he had already the reputation of having obtained the favours of ſeveral belles of the court; and his ſucceſs made him proud. Soltikoff, it is true, was held rather deficient in courage with the men, but he was not the leſs preſumptuous nor leſs bold with the women. Perhaps he would have trembled at the ſight of a naked ſword; but for extending the number of his conqueſts in gallantry, he had often been thought to brave the deſerts of Siberia. In ſhort, the huſbands of Peterſburg regarded him as the moſt agreeable and the moſt dangerous man in town.

Soltikoff was not long ere he lifted his eyes even to the ſpouſe of his maſter; and vanity yet more than love led him to conceive the temerarious deſign of captivating her heart. He began by ſedulouſly ſtudying the inclinations of the princeſs. He perceived that, notwithſtanding the conſtraint in which ſhe lived, Catharine had always a propenſity to pleaſure; and that the ſolitude of Oranienbaum rendered diſſipation neceſſary to her. He accordingly procured her ſome new amuſement with every returning day. He engaged the grand duke to give frequent entertainments, he took upon himſelf the task of inventing and directing them, ſecretly giving the grand ducheſs to underſtand that ſhe was the ſole object for which they were made, and that it was to him alone ſhe was indebted for them. Catharine was not inſenſible to ſuch gallant, ſuch continued attentions. The ſeducing figure of Soltikoff, and the vivacity of his wit, had made impreſſion on her mind. His aſſiduities made him maſter of her affections; but Soltikoff, ſenſible that the heart of the grand ducheſs was no ordinary conqueſt, was afraid of betraying himſelf by an imprudent explanation. It is even not impoſſible that at firſt he meant only to feign a paſſion which in the ſequel grew up into a real attachment. In ſhort, for a conſiderable time paſt,

paſt; their fondneſs had been mutual, without any declaration on the part of either.

An unfortunate event was the occaſion of accelerating this declaration. Soltikoff loſt his father. His duty obliged him to repair to Moſco. He obtained the grand duke's permiſſion to depart, and at taking leave of Catharine he was not ſufficiently maſter of his feelings to prevent his diſcovering how much this parting coſt him. The princeſs, who ſaw his tears, was no leſs touched herſelf at the cauſe whence they flowed; and fixing her eyes, with a look of extreme ſignificance, on Soltikoff, ſhe conjured him to ſhorten his abſence as much as he could, and to return and forget his grief in the midſt of a brilliant court, where without him there could be no ſuch thing as pleaſure.

The character of Soltikoff renders it eaſy to judge what effect theſe words muſt have produced. He thought he perceived that he was beloved; and his conſcious pride redoubled. His journey took him up but a few days. What were domeſtic concerns when balanced with the felicity he expected? What was Moſco to him in compariſon of Peterſburg? He abandoned all for the ſake of returning to ſecure his triumph.

However, on approaching again the grand ducheſs, all the flattering ideas with which he had

had regaled his delighted imagination began ſuddenly to diſſolve and vaniſh. His audacity forſook him. He found himſelf a prey to the moſt ſerious and gloomy reflections. He ſaw at once all the danger of his amour. He could no longer preſume to flatter himſelf that Catharine would ſo far forget what ſhe owed to her rank, to her ſpouſe, as to accept the aſſiduities of a ſimple chamberlain. But if he were ſo happy as to ſee her vouchſafe to correſpond to his paſſion, could he imagine that he ſhould deceive the penetrating eyes of the jealous and humiliated courtiers, by whom ſhe was ſurrounded? In a word, how riſk a confeſſion which might be repaid by a perpetual impriſonment, or even with the loſs of his life! He ſhuddered, he trembled, he reſolved to renounce the fallacious hopes his unbounded arrogance had made him cheriſh.

In this ſtate of perturbation and deſpondence, Soltikoff no longer diſplayed that brilliant gaiety for which he had hitherto been always diſtinguiſhed. In vain did he ſometimes affect an air of eaſy elegance which he now no more poſſeſſed. A ſettled melancholy corroded his heart, and was depicted on his face; his health was viſibly declining. The grand ducheſs took the alarm; and one day, on finding herſelf alone with him, deſired him to reveal the cauſe of ſo ſudden an alteration.

alteration. Soltikoff, unable at that moment to ſtifle or reſiſt a paſſion thus preying on his vitals, avowed it in expreſſions of the tendereſt emotion. Catharine heard him without anger; ſhe ſeemed even to pity him; but, with a collected air, ſhe counſelled him to renounce an inclination, of the irregularity and danger whereof he ought to be ſenſible. Although ſtill very young, Soltikoff knew but too well the female heart to be ignorant, that ſhe who allows herſelf to liſten to a lover has already begun to approve him. He took courage. He threw himſelf at the knees of the grand ducheſs, and embraced them with boldneſs. The princeſs was agitated; ſhe let fall ſome tears; and retiring precipitately from the tranſports of Soltikoff, to go and ſhut herſelf in her cabinet, ſhe addreſſed to him that verſe which Monimia ſpeaks to Xiphares in the tragedy of Mithridates:—

"Et méritez les pleurs que vous m'allez coûter*."

From that moment the chamberlain reſumed his wonted gaiety with returning hope; and the happy alteration in his behaviour was felt by all around him.

While the grand duke and the grand ducheſs were paſſing the ſummer at Oranienbaum, the

* And merit thoſe tears you are about to coſt me.

empreſs Elizabeth remained at Peterhof, though not without ſending, from time to time, for the imperial couple to ſhare in the pleaſures of her court. On theſe little expeditions Soltikoff never failed to make one of the party. In order to avoid being preſent at the entertainments and feſtivities of the palace, where the prying eyes of indiſcreet obſervers would throw too great a reſtraint on her conduct, Catharine feigned an indiſpoſition. The grand duke was ſo infatuated in regard to his chamberlain, that he even engaged him himſelf to ſhare in the ſolitude of his wife, and to exert all the talents of his capacity to amuſe and to cheer her. This was exactly what the two lovers deſired; and it is not difficult to imagine that they turned the moments to profit. This tide of ſucceſs ſeemed now at its height; and the young chamberlain experienced a ſignal turn of affairs. The grand ducheſs was not always ſufficiently on her guard for concealing the inclination ſhe entertained for him. The courtiers, always artful, always envious, began by remarking the preference that wounded their pride, and were not long in tracing it to its ſource. The ruin of Soltikoff was now pretty certain. The very men who ſhewed him the moſt marks of friendſhip, and who of courſe had the moſt means of doing him diſſervice,

diſſervice, ſecretly found the method of conveying to the empreſs their ſuſpicions of an amour between the chamberlain and the grand-ducheſs: Of an amorous diſpoſition herſelf, Elizabeth perhaps was not bound to take great offence at the intrigue: but ſhe was haughty; and in the firſt burſts of her indignation, ſhe declared that Soltikoff ſhould pay for his temerity by an exile into Siberia.

Soltikoff, informed of the dangers that menaced him, immediately ſet about the means of avoiding them. He ſaw that the beſt method of preventing the ſtorm from burſting upon him was boldly to brave it. Aſſuming, therefore, a look of aſſurance, and putting on the air of affronted innocence, he ran to the grand duke to complain of the calumnies that had been ſo audaciouſly ſpread. He reminded the prince that he had only preſented himſelf to the grand ducheſs in conſequence of expreſs orders received from himſelf; and that he had never beheld her but with all the reſpect that was due to her rank. He remarked to him, that theſe invidious ſlanders, though outwardly lanced againſt him, were intended as a clandeſtine, but certain attack on the heir of the empire, ſince in theſe infamous reports the honour of the crown was infinitely more implicated than the reputation

reputation of an individual like him. He concluded by adding, that, in order to furniſh no farther pretence to the jealouſy of his enemies, and to calm the mind of the empreſs, he prayed the grand duke for permiſſion to retire to Moſco.

The ſpeech of Soltikoff not only impoſed on the credulous prince, but perſuaded him that for his own honour he ſhould keep the chamberlain about the perſon of his ſpouſe. He ordered him to remain; then aſked for an audience of the empreſs, in which he complained of the inſolent reports that had been induſtriouſly ſent abroad: he defended Soltikoff with ſo much vehemence, and with ſuch ſpecious arguments, that Elizabeth began to believe herſelf, that the reports which had been raiſed about him might poſſibly be no more than the fabrication of envy.

While this ſcene was tranſacting in the apartment of Elizabeth, the grand ducheſs did not remain idle: ſhe was more intereſted than any one in putting a ſtop to theſe injurious reports, and to preſerve her lover. Indeed, who was more capable than herſelf of undertaking her own defence? Informed by madame Nariſhkin of the pains the grand duke had taken in the juſtification of Soltikoff, and of the ſucceſs he had juſt obtained, ſhe immediately preſented herſelf

herſelf to the empreſs. Forgetting the air of meekneſs ſhe had hitherto always put on in the preſence of the ſovereign, ſhe broke forth into reproaches on the credit that could be given to ſuch odious ſuſpicions. She repreſented how much the proofs demanded by the empreſs of her innocence muſt be fallacious and uncertain, and how all public inquiry muſt infallibly be attended with diſgrace, as on all occaſions of this nature the ſmalleſt doubt always left an indelible blot. Grief, vengeance, rage, by turns gave ſo much force to her eloquence, that Elizabeth was unable to reſiſt it: ſhe appeared moved, melted, perſuaded; and the victory of Catharine was ſtill more complete than that of the grand duke.

In the evening, as is the cuſtom at the court of St. Peterſburg, there was a circle at the palace, and the empreſs with eagerneſs embraced the opportunity for teſtifying in the eyes of the court, that Soltikoff had nothing to apprehend from her. The chamberlain was engaged at play: Elizabeth advancing to the back of his chair, aſked him, with that grace which ſhe had the art of throwing into all that ſhe ſaid, whether he was happy? — "Never madam," returned Soltikoff. — "I am ſorry for it," ſhe replied; "but perhaps that may be partly by your own "fault. It is ſaid that you intend to quit

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"the grand duke? I cannot believe it; and I "invite you to remain about him: be aſſured "that if your enemies ſhould attempt again to "injure you, I ſhall be the firſt to defend "you."

Though it had been true that Soltikoff had ſeriouſly formed the deſign of retiring from court, theſe words would have been enough to have detained him; and even though his enemies might have acquired the moſt convincing proofs of his audacity, they would have ſtopped their mouths for ever.

In the mean time the grand duke cohabited with his ſpouſe; and thenceforward Soltikoff thought he had no longer any danger to prevent; he now taſted without diſturbance or remorſe thoſe pleaſures from the conſequences of which he had nothing to dread. Catharine herſelf had no need to be ſo ſevere in her precautions; her firſt ſucceſs had given her additional boldneſs. Beſides, the example of the empreſs Elizabeth, whoſe manners were growing more and more corrupt, and who engaged in new follies from day to day, ſeemed to afford ſome excuſe for her paſſion. The empreſs queſtioned nothing of an intrigue which ſhe might eaſily have perceived; or, if ſhe obſerved it, ſhe at leaſt no longer evinced either anger or ſuſpicion.

Time,

Time, which enfeebles and often extinguiſhes the moſt ardent paſſions, diminiſhed not that of Catharine. That princeſs expected ſhortly to become a mother; Soltikoff was daily acquiring a greater aſcendant over her heart; but his happineſs was at its ultimate term; he became himſelf the artificer of his ruin.

The grand chancellor Beſtucheff, with the reſt of the courtiers, had been ſilent on the favour enjoyed by Soltikoff; but he was not on that account the leſs vigilant and attentive. Inceſſantly occupied with the project of diſplacing the grand duke from his ſucceſſion to the throne, the veteran miniſter perceived that the ſureſt means for ſucceeding was to gain over the favourite of the prince himſelf.

Beſtucheff, whom the title of grand chancellor, united with the general adminiſtration of affairs, his influence, and his profound policy, rendered one of the moſt powerful perſons of the empire, became the humble ſycophant of Soltikoff. He laviſhed on him the marks of deference, praiſes, careſſes, in the greateſt profuſion. He revealed to him the ſecrets that were of the utmoſt importance; he frequently conſulted him, or feigned to conſult him; he at length ſo completely gained his confidence, that the chamberlain, blinded by pride, thought he had no firmer a

friend than the wily miniſter: while he, who now ſaw what authority he had acquired over Soltikoff, and thought of nothing but to free himſelf from ſo dangerous a rival, induced him to take the moſt fatal meaſures. He told him, that, for augmenting the aſcendancy he had gained, and to render himſelf entirely maſter of the grand duke's mind, it was neceſſary to put away from the prince all perſons of birth, of ambition, or talents, and to let him have none about him but vile and obſcure people, or who, being placed by Soltikoff himſelf, would be ſervilely devoted to his intereſt. Soltikoff perceived not the ſnare. He was moreover incapable of penetrating into the motive of ſo perfidious an advice. His favour made all things poſſible to him; his ambition increaſed; he attempted to ſecure to himſelf an abſolute ſway; and he was eager to put in practice what the old chancellor had told him. Thus one moment of imprudence demoliſhed a triumph of ſeveral years.

This new tempeſt raiſed againſt the favourite, blackened all at once. The young courtiers ſeeing themſelves removed from the heir of the throne, broke out into murmurs, and joined their efforts to thoſe of the friends of Beſtucheff. The chancellor rekindled the audacity of Tſchoglokoff, of Razumoffſky, and thoſe of their party; who

who at length all united together to cauſe their complaints to reach the ears of Elizabeth. Beſtucheff perceived that it was time for him to ſpeak to the empreſs himſelf. He accordingly had a ſecret conference with her; in which he recalled to her mind all that ſhe already knew of the weakneſs of the grand duke, of his extravagancies, and the riot to which he was addicted. He told her that theſe extravagancies and this riot took their origin from Soltikoff; who, that he might the more effectually ſubject the prince to his will, ſuffered none to approach him but abject flatterers and vile debauchees. He revived the ſuſpicions, but too well founded, and for ſo long time ſpread, on the criminal intercourſe carried on by the chamberlain with the grand ducheſs. He concluded by repreſenting him as a perfidious favourite, whoſe ambition threatened Ruſſia with an odious reign.

The empreſs, incenſed at what ſhe heard, reſolved once more to puniſh Soltikoff; but, directed by the aged chancellor, ſhe took at this time ſurer meaſures than before. The ſecret was kept, and the diſgrace of the chamberlain was covered by the pretext of an honourable embaſſy. Elizabeth commiſſioned him to repair to Stockholm with the title of envoy extraordinary, to notify to the king of Sweden the

birth of Paul Petrovitch, of whom the grand ducheſs had juſt been delivered *. The preſumptuous Soltikoff at firſt conſidered this employ as a new mark of the empreſs's favour. He accepted it with gratitude, repaired haſtily to Sweden, and left it with equal ſpeed. But ſcarcely had he quitted Stockholm to return to St. Peterſburg, when he was ſtopped on the way by a courier, who put into his hands the order for him to go and reſide at Hamburgh, in quality of miniſter plenipotentiary from the court of Ruſſia.

Soltikoff now opened his eyes. He ſaw that he had been cruelly deceived. He wrote to the grand ducheſs, and engaged her to ſollicit his recall. That princeſs, not leſs ſenſible than he to this ſeparation, wiſhed at firſt to employ her influence and her eloquence with the empreſs, to induce her to command his return; but the chancellor, who had foreſeen all that happened, went to her with ſpeed, to convince her of the danger of this propoſal. He told her plainly that the ſteps ſhe hazarded in favour of Soltikoff would corroborate the ſuſpicions that were already excited againſt her, and would effectually tend to her ruin. She was entirely convinced

* The 1ſt of October 1754.

by

by his arguments. Ambition impoſed ſilence on love.

Catharine, however, preſerved for ſome time the paſſion ſhe had conceived for the chamberlain. She wrote to him, and frequently received letters from him. Misfortune ſeemed even to augment her tenderneſs, when all at once, the preſence of a ſtranger whom fortune had brought to the court of Ruſſia, cauſed her to forget the lover whom ſhe no longer ſaw.

The young count Staniſlaus Poniatofsky, whom Catharine firſt raiſed to the throne of Poland, and afterwards hurled him indignantly from it, was the happy ſucceſſor of Soltikoff. Born a ſimple nobleman, and deſtitute of fortune, but endowed with a handſome figure and full of ambition *, Poniatofsky amuſed for ſome time in Germany and France his anxiety and his vague

* The father of Poniatofsky was an adventurer; who, from the condition of domeſtic in the family of Michielky in Lithuania, went into the ſervice of Charles XII. and obtained the confidence of that prince. He afterwards attached himſelf to king Staniſlaus Lechinſky, whom he betrayed by conveying from him the abdication which Auguſtus II. had formerly given him in preſence of Charles XII. Provided with this important record, Poniatofsky repaired to Warſaw, where Auguſtus rewarded his perfidy by giving him in marriage the princeſs Chartorinſky, a deſcendant of the houſe of Yagellon. Staniſlaus Poniatofsky was the fruit of this marriage.

expectations. He met with tolerable ſucceſs at Paris, where the friendſhip of the ſwediſh ambaſſador procured him diſtinguiſhed connections: but his mother, who dreaded the influence which the too bewitching pleaſures of that city might have upon him, wrote to him her commands to leave it. Poniatoſsky immediately quitted France and repaired to England, where he found ſir Charles Hanbury Williams, whom he had formerly known at the court of Warſaw; and who, being appointed by the cabinet of London to the embaſſy of Peterſburg, engaged him to accompany him thither. Without bearing any title that attached him to the embaſſy, the young Pole employed himſelf in the cabinet of the ambaſſador, and ſerved him in the office of ſecretary. He even determined at firſt to confine himſelf to diplomatic affairs; but the taſte for diſſipation to which he had long been accuſtomed, his youth, the ſeducing opportunities which daily preſented themſelves, ſoon brought him back to the purſuit of pleaſure. He was by nature of a gay, witty, and ſpirited diſpoſition, and therefore adapted to ſucceed at a court where amuſement ſeemed to be the moſt important concern. Accordingly it was not long before he perceived the impreſſion he had made upon the heart of Catharine.

Poniatoſsky,

Poniatofsky, bold and even audacious, was yet awed by the high rank of the grand ducheſs; and the obſervant eyes of the numerous courtiers obliged him to repreſs his ardour. For ſome time the two lovers converſed only by their looks; but to theſe mute converſations at length others ſucceeded in which they reciprocally declared their attachment, and conſulted on the means of indulging their inclinations without conſtraint.

Led by the ſeveral motives of intereſt and vanity, ſome perſons of the court, who watched the motions of the grand ducheſs only to thwart and cenſure her views, loſt no time in informing the empreſs Elizabeth of the new intrigue of her adoptive niece.

Elizabeth had no eſteem for her nephew; ſhe cared but little for the honour of the grand ducheſs; ſhe was in general not more ſevere towards the conduct of others, than careful of her own; in ſhort, ſhe was always afraid to puniſh: but the extreme facility with which ſhe followed the counſels of the perſons about her, made her often act with a rigour entirely abhorrent to her general character. She gave orders to Poniatofsky to quit Ruſſia without delay. Poniatofsky obeyed.

By continuing to cabal againſt the grand duke, and by removing Soltikoff from the court, the chancellor Beſtucheff had neglected nothing for ſtrengthening his party with that of the grand ducheſs. His devotion to this princeſs appeared to increaſe from day to day. He flattered her inclinations; he even miniſtered to them; he made her at length forget that he had been the chief cauſe of the ruin of her firſt lover. She thought ſhe might make uſe of him in recovering the ſecond. The old miniſter promiſed his return, and haſtened his endeavours to fulfil it. Poniatofsky he thought far leſs to be dreaded than Soltikoff. He knew that the heart of Catharine could never remain in a ſtate of inaction: he therefore preferred ſeeing a foreigner rather than a Ruſſian, the object of her choice.

The grand chancellor was intimately connected with the count de Bruhl, prime miniſter of the king of Poland. He acquainted him by letter with a paſſion the grand ducheſs entertained for Poniatofsky, and the advantage to be derived of ſending the young Pole to Ruſſia, inveſted with a character that would ſerve as a plauſible pretext for his return. The count de Bruhl immediately perceived the importance of the project;

project; ſome embarraſſment, however, attended its execution: two poſitive laws in direct oppoſition to his views on the favourite muſt be infringed in their behalf.

Every Pole, in poſſeſſion of a ſtaroſty, was prohibited by the former from quitting the republic.

The other enjoined, that a Pole could never be charged at a foreign court with the management of the affairs of Saxony, nor a Saxon with thoſe of Poland.

But Bruhl had often the art of making the laws ſubſervient to his will. The neceſſity of gaining the aſcendant at the court of Ruſſia, and the deſire of further conciliating the favour of the ruſſian miniſter, whom the Saxon regarded as one of his chief ſupports, obviated every objection. Poniatofsky was publicly decorated with the order of the White Eagle; and ſoon after a ſecret council was held, in which he was named miniſter plenipotentiary of the republic and king of Poland to the empreſs Elizabeth. The cuſtomary convocation of the *ſenatus concilium* was even neglected on this occaſion.

The indignation of all patriot Poles was excited at this tranſaction. But they were not aware that the new plenipotentiary was the crea-

ture of Chartorinſky, and devoted to the politics of England and Pruſſia.

Durand, a man of perſpicacity and courage, charged with the concerns of France in the abſence of the count de Broglio, repaired to count Bruhl, to remonſtrate with him on the choice he had made, at a moment when it was of ſo much importance to Poland to keep on good terms with the courts of Vienna and Verſailles. The count by a falſehood attempted to impoſe on the agent of France; he proteſted that he had exerted no influence in the nomination of Poniatofsky; and in the meanwhile haſtened his departure with the greater zeal.

Bruhl, become now the patron of Poniatofsky, omitted nothing on his part to enſure a ſucceſs that might juſtify his choice. He well knew the uneaſineſs that pervaded the ruſſian court, while it affected an exterior of oriental magnificence. He was not ignorant that Elizabeth was laviſhing on her minions, and the inventors of ſumptuous and fantaſtical feſtivities, the ſums that ſhould have been applied to the wants of the empire; in ſhort, he knew that the grand duke and grand ducheſs were languiſhing in a penury unworthy of their rank. He therefore remitted to Poniatofsky 6000 ducats, that, on preſſing

preſſing emergencies, he might advance them to the prince and his conſort, and thereby conciliate their entire concurrence. Poniatofsky dexterouſly profited by the counſels and benefactions of Bruhl. He was already ſure of the grand ducheſs's heart; he ſucceeded ſoon after with the ſpouſe. He talked engliſh and german with him; he drank, ſmoked, ſpoke ill of France, abuſed the French, and extolled the king of Pruſſia with unlimited praiſe. In addition to ſo many recommendations, he affected an immoderate purſuit of pleaſure. But the Poles, and even the Ruſſians, ſoon penetrated his ambitious deſigns, and pretended that he was ſacrificing the intereſts of his maſter and the Chartorinſkys to his own private views. Time has ſince ſhewn that they were not deceived.

What indeed might not a man of penetration and addreſs have done in thoſe days at the court of Peterſburg? What were the principal perſonages at that luxurious, intriguing, and profligate court?

The empreſs Elizabeth had inſenſibly proceeded from moderate pleaſures to the extravagance of ſenſuality; and her taſte for devotion augmented with her voluptuouſneſs. She continued whole hours on her knees before the pic-

ture

ture of ſome ſaint*, to which ſhe ſpoke, which ſhe even conſulted, and paſſed alternately from acts of bigotry to the intemperance of luſt, and from ſcenes of laſciviouſneſs to the opiates of prayer. She would frequently drink to exceſs; and at ſuch times, too ſenſual, too impatient for the delays of unlacing, her women uſed to effect the ſame purpoſe by means of the ſciſſars. In what manner ſuch nights were paſſed, it becomes not the hiſtorian to undraw her curtains to reveal.

* The worſhip of the pictures of ſaints is in univerſal practice in the orthodox greek church. The decalogue, it ſeems, forbids only *graven* images.—Notwithſtanding the unbounded toleration which prevails in Ruſſia, there is ſtill what is called a predominant religion, and to which, as John James obſerves, the prince and the executioner always belong. The ſyſtem of faith adopted by the tzar and the native Ruſſians is that denominated by divines the *greek* religion, which in ſome particulars differs from the latin. Without tiring the reader with a circumſtantial expoſition of theſe idle diſtinctions, to ſay nothing of their ſeveral notions about the proceſſion of the holy ghoſt, and of the quality of the bread in the ſacrament, it will be ſufficient to obſerve that the Greeks deny the ſupremacy of the roman pontiff in church matters, and condemn the worſhip of carved images. Accordingly they have no images in their churches, but multitudes of pictures, repreſenting thouſands of ſaints, to which they pay almoſt the ſame divine honours as to the deity himſelf.

The

The grand ducheſs, blinded by her paſſion, and conſequently unmindful of the leſſons of prudence which her mother had left her, but which ſhe afterwards took for the guides of her conduct, betrayed a faint imitation of the irregularities of her aunt. She followed no counſels but thoſe of Beſtucheff, the engliſh ambaſſador Williams, and the gallant Poniatofsky: on which occaſion, a foreigner then at Peterſburg obſerved, in alluſion to theſe three perſonages, that ſhe could not fail of being badly conducted, ſince ſhe took for her guides men ſo conſummate in knavery, madneſs, and folly. Poniatofsky was never from her; ſhe devoted to him the whole of her time; and ſhe made ſo little ſecret of this intimacy, that public report was very loud to her prejudice. The grand ducheſs was after ſome months delivered of the princeſs Anne *, who lived only fifteen months.

The grand duke was the only man at court that knew nothing of what was paſſing. Nor ought this to excite our ſurpriſe. Peter, though, as we have ſeen, apparently marked out for particular exploits, by having at once two diſtinct offers of a crown, yet the people among whom he was thrown did not co-operate with the finger of

* In the month of February 1758.

fortune,

fortune, but ſeemed rather anxious to fruſtrate her views. His education had been entirely neglected in Holſtein; his naturally good underſtanding was not enriched with ſcience; his vehement temper was undirected to uſeful exertion, unſoftened by culture to the tender affections, and by love to the fine arts. In Ruſſia his ſituation afforded him but little opportunity, awed as he was by the chancellor Beſtucheff Riumin, for improving his qualities or extending his knowledge. He was young, and had no honeſt friend. The image of his illuſtrious grandfather might preſent itſelf to his imagination: but he found no guide to aſſiſt him in the emulation of his great example. Kept at a diſtance from all buſineſs of public concern, he confined himſelf almoſt ſolely to the company of his Holſteiners, and to the exerciſes of his german ſoldiers. His enemies had even robbed him of the affection of his aunt, and ſtrove to ſow diſcord between him and his ſpouſe. Diſtruſt and apprehenſion muſt frequently have got poſſeſſion of his ſoul; and in thoſe moments he had recourſe to artificial exhilarations that were unworthy of him.

What wonder then that he was blinded to what ſo nearly concerned him? Beſides, being always a great admirer of the king of Pruſſia, he now devoted himſelf entirely to copy, with a ſervile

ſervile affectation, the air, the manners, the tone of that monarch. He dreſſed his little army at Oranienbaum in the pruſſian uniform, and wore it himſelf; he fatigued his ſoldiers in uſeleſs manœuvres and painful exerciſes: from theſe he ſat down to the exceſſes of the table, and in the delirium of intemperance would declare, that he would one day be the conqueror of the north, and the rival of the pruſſian hero. But how great was the difference between the imitator and the model!

The grand chancellor inceſſantly occupied in his project, of vilifying and calumniating the prince, and of favouring the inclination of Catharine, in the hope that when ſhe ſhould have aſcended the throne ſhe would keep him in his place, forgot the intereſt of the empire in attending to his own. The other miniſters, who for the moſt part were creatures devoted to his views, followed the ſteps of their maſter.

The Razumoffſkys, the Schuvaloffs, the Tſhoglokoffs, the Nariſhkins, the Vorontzoffs, and the whole herd of courtiers, while they ſaw the depravity of their patrons, meanly ſuppreſſed their contempt, or ſtifled it with flattery.

The people, who could eaſily ſee the diſorders of the court, ſeemed afraid to lift their eyes on Elizabeth. They revered in her the blood of Peter

Peter the great, without taking umbrage at her vices. Such force has ſtill the impulſion given by the legiſlator of Ruſſia! So far is the Ruſſian addicted to obedience, and hardened to the yoke!

The empreſs Elizabeth had ordered general Apraxin to march, with 40,000 Ruſſians, to aſſiſt Maria Thereſa in re-conquering Sileſia from the king of Pruſſia. The grand duke, lamenting to ſee theſe ſuccours diſpatched againſt a monarch whom he admired to idolatry, applied to Beſtucheff to induce him to recall the troops. The count entertained no violent affection for Frederic; on the contrary, he was a warm partiſan of the court of Vienna. Above all, he had no deſire to do any thing that would pleaſe the grand duke. But Elizabeth was juſt fallen ſick, the grand duke might preſently be called to the throne; and Beſtucheff, wiſhing at any price to preſerve his authority, ſacrificed his hatred, his affections, and the honour of the empire, to his unbridled ambition. He ſent orders to general Apraxin to abandon his conqueſts, and to haſten his return: but for this once he was the dupe of his own cunning.

This retreat, ſo unaccountable to Elizabeth, gave her ground to ſuſpect that ſhe had been betrayed by her miniſters or her generals. Marſhal

Marſhal Apraxin was removed from the command, and put under arreſt. He juſtified his conduct by producing the orders from count Beſtucheff. Beſtucheff was removed from his office, and alſo put under arreſt. Count Vorontzoff ſucceeded Beſtucheff in his employment, and the generals Brown* and Fermer took the command of the army in the place of Apraxin.

The

* General Brown was a native of Ireland, and was born in the beginning of the preſent century. Being a roman catholic, he was compelled to ſeek his fortune in foreign countries by the exertion of thoſe talents which he would willingly have dedicated to the ſervice of his own. He firſt entered the auſtrian, and afterwards the ruſſian ſervice. While acting under count Munich againſt the Turks, in the campaigns of 1737 and 1738, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the ſiege of Otchakof: being ſent with a corps of troops into Hungary, he was taken priſoner by the Turks, ſold as a ſlave, and transferred to four different maſters. At one time he was bound back to back with another priſoner for eight-and-forty hours, and expoſed almoſt naked at the various places where ſlaves are brought for ſale. He had then borne the rank of colonel in the ruſſian ſervice, but gave out that he was only a captain, in order to leſſen the price of his ranſom. Having been accidentally met by a gentleman to whom he was perſonally known, he ſent an account of his ſituation to the french ambaſſador, who found means to purchaſe him for 300 ducats. But his turkiſh maſter diſcovering that he was of higher rank than he had pretended, re-claimed his priſoner, and threatened to

The affair was thus. Though Beſtucheff had got a great number of partiſans, and a ſtill greater number of creatures, he had alſo many enemies; and theſe enemies had a glimpſe of a means for effecting his ruin, which they eagerly ſeized. They perceived that it would be no difficult matter for them to cauſe hatred and quarrels to ſucceed to the coldneſs which for a long time had been viſible between Peter and his ſpouſe, and that they might then bring Beſtucheff to puniſhment, as the primary cauſe, not only of theſe diſagreements, but even for the eſtrangement which the empreſs evinced to her nephew.

This plan once concerted, the firſt ſtep was to call the prince's attention to the frequent converſations of Poniatoſsky with the grand ducheſs. Their geſtures were watched; every little word that eſcaped them, which might ſerve as a pretext for ſome alluſion, was carefully laid hold of. One evening in particular, when the grand ducheſs was at table with a numerous

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uſe force in order to recover him. The french ambaſſador, however, applied to the grand vizir, who decided in his favour. Count Brown recovered his liberty, and returned to Ruſſia, where he was gradually promoted, and died governor of Riga in 1789, at the age of 88.—See *Coxe's Travels*, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 417, 418.

company,

company, and ſeated facing Poniatoſsky, the diſcourſe fell upon the dexterity with which ſome women managed a horſe, and the dangers to which they expoſed themſelves in that exerciſe. Catharine, who had her eyes fixed on her lover, anſwered in her lively manner: "There "are few women ſo bold as I am. I am of an "unbounded courage." Theſe words were immediately reported to the grand duke, accompanied with ſuggeſtions that might occaſion ſome ſiniſter application to ariſe in his mind.

The jealouſy of Peter being thus alarmed, they loſt no time to foſter theſe ſurmiſes of the huſband into proofs of the infidelity of the wife, in her love for the Polander, and the criminal correſpondence they mutually entertained. The prince was overwhelmed with grief and conſternation. He bewailed his misfortune, and condemned his imprudence. He no longer obſerved the conſideration and reſpect he had hitherto ſhewn the grand ducheſs, and forbad her to be ſeen with Poniatoſsky. He then haſtened to the empreſs, and beſought her to avenge the affront he had received; telling her, at the ſame time, that the chancellor had not only favoured the miſconduct of the grand ducheſs, but had repeatedly betrayed the confidence of his imperial aunt. He concluded this

addreſs, by ſhewing her the order ſent by that miniſter to marſhal Apraxin, to make him retreat from Sileſia.

Elizabeth, moved at the ſorrows of her nephew, and incenſed at the treachery of Beſtucheff, gave orders to arreſt him on the ſpot. The chancellor was at once deprived of his place, tried, pronounced guilty of high treaſon, and ſentenced to death. But the empreſs contented herſelf with baniſhing him to an eſtate 120 verſts beyond Moſco. Thus paſſed all at once, from the pinnacle of power into bondage, that man who could make Ruſſia tremble at his word, and controlled the fortunes of a great part of Europe! Such were the explanations univerſally believed at the time; and the conſequence was, as ſaid above, that count Vorontzoff ſucceeded Beſtucheff in the office of grand chancellor.

Catharine, who thought ſhe had every thing to apprehend from the reſentment of her huſband, now ſaw herſelf abandoned on all ſides. The courtiers who had been the moſt aſſiduous in their flatteries, were now the firſt to forſake her. Great minds rebound from error with a force proportionate to that which impelled them to it: the grand ducheſs was ſenſible to the extent of her imprudence; but her courage never forſook her. Reſolved to employ that eloquence which

which had formerly ſucceeded ſo well with the empreſs, ſhe demanded an audience; which Elizabeth refuſed. She then thought it adviſable to apply to the ambaſſador of France*, becauſe, as well from his ſituation as his perſonal talents, that miniſter had conſiderable influence at court. She intreated him to uſe his intereſt on her behalf, and to repreſent to the empreſs how extremely ſhe was diſtreſſed at the loſs of her favour; and that if it were poſſible ſhe could diſpleaſe her, the ſincerity of her contrition, with ſuch a heart as Elizabeth's, could not plead in vain for pardon.

The ambaſſador was not deficient in marks of reſpect for the princeſs; he gave her ſuch conſolations and advice as his prudence ſuggeſted; but he thought it not conſiſtent with propriety to attempt to effect a reconciliation which appeared to him impoſſible.

Catharine therefore remained for ſome time in this diſtreſſing ſituation. She had at once to ſupport the averſion of the grand duke, the indignation of the empreſs, the inſulting diſdain of a court which, a few days before, was laviſh of its aſſiduities and ſmiles; and, what afflicted her much more, the dread of loſing for ever her favourite Poniatofsky.

* M. de l'Hôpital.

The young Pole was not leſs a prey to diſquietude than herſelf. He had juſt received from Warſaw letters of recal; and yet he could not reſolve upon quitting Ruſſia. Feigning an indiſpoſition, he confined himſelf all day to his hotel, and in the obſcurity of the winter evenings repaired to Catharine's apartments. But the ever-waking eyes of ſuſpicion and malice were continually upon them. Their places of aſſignation were diſcovered; and the empreſs, whoſe ears were open to every tale, was ſoon made acquainted with theſe tranſactions.

The return of ſummer threw freſh difficulties in the way of theſe interviews. The grand ducheſs was obliged to accompany her huſband to Oranienbaum; and Poniatoſsky was reduced to the neceſſity of having recourſe to all manner of diſguiſes for gaining admiſſion to this palace. One day, having put on a convenient habit; and ſauntering in one of the walks of the grounds where Catharine had appointed to meet him, he was recognized by one of the domeſtics, who preſently ran to acquaint the grand duke. The prince, willing to humiliate Poniatoſsky, ordered one of the moſt athletic of his ruſſian officers to be fetched; and after having given him the characteriſtic deſcription of the Pole, commanded him

him to go up to him unawares in the grounds, and bring him either voluntarily or by force.

The officer was not long in coming up with the man who anſwered the deſcription he had received; when he roughly interrogated him, Who he was? and what he would have? Poniatoſky, thus taken by ſurpriſe, ſcarcely knowing what anſwer to make, ſtammered out the firſt thing that occurred: that he was a german taylor, and that he was come to Oranienbaum to take meaſure of a holſtein officer for a ſuit of clothes. "I have "orders to bring you to the grand duke," replied the Ruſſian.—"I muſt decline the honour, though "my fortune may depend upon it: I have not a "moment of time," returned the Pole.—"Oh, "as to the matter of time, whether you have "time or not, you muſt follow me," anſwered the officer. Having ſaid this, on ſeeing ſome ſigns of reluctance on the other, he made a ſlip-knot in his handkerchief, which he threw over his neck, and thus led him captive to the feet of the prince.

The grand duke, ſeeing Poniatoſky brought like a malefactor before him, aſſumed an angry air, and in a feigned paſſion ſoundly rated the officer for making ſuch a miſtake; but afterwards amuſed himſelf with the adventure at the expence of the

count, and affected chiefly to relate it in the preſence of Catharine.

It was about this time that, whether in compliance with an involuntary paſſion, for paſſions are involuntary in ſuch characters as Peter, or whether he thought to avenge himſelf for the infidelities of his wife, the grand duke formed an attachment with one of the three daughters of the ſenator Vorontzoff, brother of the new chancellor. The eldeſt of theſe ſiſters, madame Boutturlin, was juſtly reckoned one of the handſomeſt ladies of Ruſſia. The youngeſt, who has ſince played ſo active and reſolute a part, under the name of the princeſs Daſhkoff, was equally handſome, and moreover endowed with extraordinary talents; but as for the third, Elizabeth Romanovna Vorontzoff*, of whom Peter was ſo paſſionately enamoured, ſhe was neither witty in converſation, graceful in behaviour, nor beautiful in perſon†. Her good-humour, ſo

* The french author here adds, "to whom the grand duke gave the title of counteſs," by miſtake. She was a counteſs by birth.

† Notwithſtanding this aſſertion, ſhe was ſaid to have been very handſome at that time; latterly, it is true, ſhe grew corpulent. As madame Polianſki, ſhe was an excellent wife to the admiral of that name, a good mother, and a charitable and worthy woman.

congenial

congenial to his own, ſeduced him, her caprices amuſed him, and the habit of living with her ſoon gained her an imperious aſcendant over him. The ſenator Vorontzoff, an inſipid and ambitious courtier, with abject complaiſance, connived at the commerce of the prince with his daughter.

In the mean time the health of Elizabeth began viſibly to decline; and the neceſſity of indulging repoſe, in addition to her natural indolence, rendered her more negligent than ever of the affairs of government. It was with difficulty the new grand chancellor Vorontzoff could prevail on her to ſet her ſignature to the official diſpatches; ſhe could only ſummon up the ſcattered remains of her ſpirits for her cuſtomary diſſipations. Feſtivities, balls, maſquerades, and brilliant ſhows ſtill yielded a faint amuſement; and dreading to lie down upon a reſtleſs pillow, ſhe went to the opera or the play at eleven, paſſed the reſt of the night at table, and went to bed at five in the morning. Buſineſſes of the graveſt import appeared now as trifles to her. Acquainted with the paſſion of her nephew for the young counteſs Vorontzoff, to whom ſhe ſcornfully gave the nick-name of la Pompadour, ſhe liſtened with avidity to the idle tales that were brought her of the particulars of their amorous

amorous revels; ſeeming to ſeek in ſuch anecdotes ſome palliation for her own infirmities, But ſhe nevertheleſs continued to meet the looks of the prince with a face of indifference, and often of coldneſs.

Catharine, who waited with impatience for a favourable opportunity of reconciliation with the empreſs, now that a ſufficient interval of ſilence had elapſed, thought it her duty to renew her efforts. She threw herſelf at her feet, and implored her forgiveneſs; but the irritated monarch would liſten to no accommodation, except on the moſt mortifying conditions. It was afterwards propoſed to her, by meſſage, to confeſs her guilt, and to ſubmit to the clemency of her huſband and the empreſs.

From this moment Catharine ſummoned up all her pride. She purpoſely avoided appearing at court, kept cloſe to her apartments, and aſked leave of the empreſs to retire into Germany; a permiſſion which ſhe was very ſure of being refuſed; becauſe, knowing the extreme fondneſs of Elizabeth for the young Paul Petrovitch, ſhe had no reaſon to apprehend that that princeſs would conſent to ſee the departure of the mother of a child which would thereby be expoſed to the hazard of being hereafter declared illegitimate. The ſtratagem ſucceeded: an accom-

accommodation ſhortly after enſued. At the very moment when ſhe was thought on the brink of irremediable diſgrace, to the great aſtoniſhment of the court, ſhe made her appearance at the theatre, by the ſide of the empreſs, who carefully drew upon her the notice of the ſpectators by the particularity of her attentions.

It is true that, in the private converſation which the grand ducheſs had with the empreſs, ſhe promiſed no longer to permit the viſits of Poniatofsky; and thenceforward ſhe actually held a greater reſerve in her conduct. Poniatofsky almoſt immediately demanded his audience of leave. But as his attachment to Catharine was founded more on ambition than love, and, determined to neglect nothing that might add freſh fuel to a paſſion which afterwards elevated him to the throne of Poland, he found new pretences for ſtill prolonging his ſtay in Peterſburg.

In the mean time the cabal formed by Beſtucheff had not been annihilated by the diſgrace of that miniſter; and the enemies of the grand duke continued on all occaſions to blacken him in the eyes of his aunt. They gladly took advantage of the ſickneſs and infirmity of that princeſs, to make her believe that Peter openly rejoiced in her approaching diſſolution, and manifeſted his impatience to enter into his

heritage. The mind of the empreſs, already too incenſed againſt her nephew, was cruelly wounded by theſe reports. In the firſt emotions of reſentment, ſhe ſuffered ſome menaces to eſcape her of depriving him of the ſucceſſion. At firſt it was thought by ſome that ſhe intended to reſtore the inheritance to prince Ivan, dethroned by her twenty years before, and whom ſhe ſtill kept languiſhing in a dungeon. Others ſuppoſed, with greater reaſon, that ſhe had formed the deſign of cauſing the infant Paul Petrovitch to ſupplant his father. Not many days after *, while the grand duke was at Oranienbaum, ſhe unexpectedly gave orders to have a play got ready; and, contrary to uſual cuſtom, ſhe had neither the foreign miniſters nor the perſons of her court invited. The grand ducheſs, her ſon, and the moſt intimate favourites were her only attendants. No ſooner was ſhe ſeated in the imperial box, than ſhe began to complain of the thinneſs of the houſe, and concluded by ſaying that the ſoldiers of her guard muſt be admitted. In an inſtant the theatre was full. Then, taking in her arms the little Paul Petrovitch, ſhe preſented him to the view of thoſe veteran warriors to whom ſhe was indebted for the throne; and,

* In the month of December 1761.

praiſing

praiſing his winning ſmiles, his ſtriking phyſiognomy, his endearing qualities of heart and mind, ſhe ſeemed to aſk of them the ſame attachment for him which they had ſhewn to her. The ſoldiers replied by reiterated ſhouts of applauſe. If Elizabeth had proceeded to explain herſelf farther, Peter had been excluded from the throne for ever; but, notwithſtanding the enthuſiaſtic vociferations of her guards, the empreſs ſtopped ſhort in her encomiums, ſat down in her ſeat, and the piece went on. It is probable that ſhe thought it neceſſary firſt to ſound their diſpoſitions, in order to execute her project with greater ſolemnity and precaution; it may be likewiſe, that ſhe meant only to intimidate the grand duke by ſhewing him how dependent he was on her will.

The news of this ſcene was preſently ſpread abroad, and gave riſe to many reflections. On this occaſion the public recollected an old opinion, undoubtedly falſe, but which, circulated in whiſpers, had gained ſome credit, at the time of the birth of Paul Petrovitch. It was pretended, that the empreſs Elizabeth had gained over by bribes the nurſe of the grand ducheſs's child, and cauſed a ſon ſhe had had by Razumoffſky to be ſubſtituted in its place.

Yet,

Yet, whatever were the deſigns of the empreſs Elizabeth, the execution of them was prevented by the hand of death. A few days after the tranſaction in favour of the infant prince, ſhe perceived her health to be ſenſibly declining from day to day. Tormented with violent pains in her bowels, which no medicines were found to aſſuage, for procuring ſome reſpite to ſuffering nature, ſhe had more frequent recourſe to her cuſtomary means of ſtifling ſenſibility in the ſtupefactions brought on by the uſe of ſtrong waters. In vain did her phyſicians repreſent to her that ſhe herſelf was contributing to fruſtrate their efforts, and accelerating the period of her days. In vain did her attendants, by ſacrificing obedience to affection, ſecretly remove or deſtroy the intoxicating beverage: ſhe would conſtantly have a caſe of it in her chamber, of which the key was always kept within reach. It was now clearly ſeen that her end was rapidly approaching. The intereſted and ambitious, who had ſeverally been contending for honours or wealth, now formed into bands in order to ſtrengthen their forces, and preſently divided into two very oppoſite parties.

The former was made up of the remains of the friends of Beſtucheff, whoſe cabals all tended in favour of Catharine, and of which,

after

after the exile of the old chancellor, count Ivan Ivanovitch Schuvaloff had been conſidered as chief. Schuvaloff, whoſe rapacity made the ruſſian merchants tremble, and whoſe inſolent peculations incenſed the grand duke; Schuvaloff, convinced that his power and his proſperity ran great hazard of becoming extinct with the life of Elizabeth, and ſeeing no other means of eſcaping the vengeance of the prince than by cutting him off from all hopes of the crown; ſteadily adhering to the plan that had been, twenty years before, chalked out by Beſtucheff, and reſting on the well-known intentions of the empreſs, conſented ſo far that Peter ſhould be elected ſovereign of Ruſſia, but was for giving the regency to the grand ducheſs, under the authority of a council, in which he modeſtly offered himſelf to preſide.

Though ſecretly irritated at ſeeing Ivan Schuvaloff appropriating to himſelf ſo great a ſhare in this partition, yet the grand ducheſs ſeconded with all her efforts the plan of the favourite. To this ſhe was animated by the twofold motive of ambition and fear. But the more ſhe was deſirous of obtaining the ſovereign power, the more carefully ſhe concealed that deſire. Towards thoſe who, from the nature of their employment or ſtation, approached her but ſeldom,

ſeldom, ſhe covered her ſchemes with an apparent indifference, and ſhe perpetually repeated to her moſt intimate confidants, that "the title "of the mother of the emperor ſhe ſhould "always think preferable to that of his ſpouſe." On the other hand, ſhe could not diſſemble that, ſince her infidelities were known to the grand duke, ſhe had every thing to dread from the reſentment of that prince. He did not conceal the animoſity he bore her, of which ſhe had evident proofs at various times.

The other party into which the court was ſplit, and which defended the rights of Peter to ſucceed to the throne, was headed by the ſenator Vorontzoff, brother of the new grand chancellor. This Vorontzoff was more ambitious, and at the ſame time more ſordid than any of his competitors for power. He was not deſtitute of ſagacity and courage; but the former he only employed in ſeeking means of intrigue, and his courage in braving contempt. His daughter was publicly the miſtreſs of the grand duke; and the ſenator, who, as before obſerved, had himſelf prepared and formed this connection, now neglected nothing for drawing it cloſer. The acceſs which he had to the grand duke, furniſhed him with frequent opportunities of exaſperating him more againſt his wife, and of diſcourſing on what

what it would be adviſable to do on aſcending the throne. He ſucceeded ſo well in gaining his confidence, that the prince determined on nothing till he had conſulted the count, or previouſly informed him of his intention through his daughter. In ſhort, according to the inſtigations of Vorontzoff, and ſome other courtiers at the devotion of that ſenator, the grand duke reſolved to aſſemble the troops at the inſtant the empreſs ſhould cloſe her eyes, to cauſe himſelf to be proclaimed emperor, to repudiate the grand ducheſs, to declare the young Paul Petrovitch illegitimate, and publicly to marry his miſtreſs Elizaveta Romanovna Vorontzoff.

All things ſeemed to concur to the ſucceſs of this enterpriſe. The grand duke, it is true, was not agreeable to the courtiers, but he was ſtill reſpected by the people, who looked up to him as the offspring of Peter the great. Vorontzoff had, moreover, far greater addreſs than Schuvaloff, and he laid his account that England would furniſh him with conſiderable ſums.

In the midſt of this train of things, the perpetual intrigues and agitations with which the two parties filled the court of the dying monarch, and whoſe animoſities were augmenting from day to day, there ſtarted up all at once a man who undertook to calm their tempers, com-

promiſe their differences, and even reconcile their opinions. This man was Nikita Ivanovitch count Panin, who afterwards for many years filled the place of prime miniſter to Catharine, and was then juſt returned from Stockholm, where he had long reſided in a diplomatic capacity.

Count Panin was of an obſcure family, and ſet out in life as a ſoldier in one of the regiments of horſe guards*. Under the patronage of prince Kourakin

* Count Nikita Ivanovitch Panin, miniſter of the department for foreign affairs, was born the 15th of September 1718. His family was originally from the republic of Lucca, whence they came to Ruſſia ſome time in the 15th century. His father ſerved under Peter the great, and was ſo fortunate as to obtain the particular favour of his ſovereign. He was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general, and died in 1736 of the conſequences of the wounds he had received in ſeveral battles, leaving behind him two ſons. The elder was entruſted with the moſt important concerns of the empire, and educated the heir of the crown; the ſecond gave many proofs of courage and military ſkill in the pruſſian war, governed as ſtadtholder the whole of the country conquered from Pruſſia, afterwards led his army againſt the Turks, ſtormed Bender, effectuated the independency of the Krim Tartars; laſtly, after he had for ſome years retired from the ſervice at his own requeſt, quelled a great inſurrection; and, by this important ſervice rendered to his country, obtained the appellation of defender of the nobles, againſt whom the attacks of the rebels were chiefly directed. Nikita Ivanovitch, by his good conduct,

Kourakin he became gentleman of the bed-chamber. The empreſs ſoon noticed him from the people of the palace, and thought he might be employed in confidential affairs. Accordingly ſhe ſent him in 1749 to Sweden, with the title of miniſter plenipotentiary at the court of Stockholm. On his return he had been appointed governor to prince Paul Petrovitch. Panin had received but little help from education; in natural talents he did not riſe above mediocrity; but, as is often obſervable in minds of that ſtamp, he found nothing arduous or difficult, but thought always that cunning was equal to wiſdom. Obſtinate and inflexible in his opinions, which being neither founded on judgment nor derived from experience, were not always

duct, and the intereſt of his relation prince Kourakin, who had married his ſiſter, procured him acceſs to the court on all occaſions. The empreſs Elizabeth Petrovna, at her acceſſion, made him a gentleman of the bed-chamber; and the particular favour ſhe ſhewed him preſently made him an object of jealouſy and envy, two vices that are ſaid to be no ſtrangers in courts. His enemies engaged in ſeveral intrigues in hopes of removing him from the palace; but, as in all his behaviour they could find no handle for calumny, they were reduced to the neceſſity of employing his merits to further their aim. They repreſented to the empreſs his dexterity in political matters, and he was ſent in 1747 as miniſter plenipotentiary to the daniſh court.

the moſt juſt, he ſeemed to imagine that what he knew and what he thought was always the beſt. However, in the latter years of his life, after he had done with all public affairs, he has often confeſſed to his friends, that during the whole courſe of his miniſtry he made it the baſis of his conduct in all negotiations, either foreign or domeſtic, to gain time, and truſt chiefly to the chapter of accidents: and he had ſeldom been miſtaken in the event. Indeed the face of human affairs is in ſuch perpetual fluctuation, and is ſubject to ſuch an endleſs variety of changes, that the chances attending on what a day may bring forth are frequently, both in private and public life, ſeen to favour the maxim of this conceited politician. His reſidence in Sweden had taught him to believe that an ariſtocratic conſtitution, with the forms of a ſenate, was the maſterpiece of governments. To theſe notions he pertinaciouſly adhered. The reſt of his character was made up of indolence, inaccuracy, and a paſſion for goſſiping.

In accepting the poſt of preceptor to the young prince, he had now to determine his choice between the grand duke and his conſort. Panin did not allow himſelf a moment's heſitation. He devoted himſelf entirely to Catharine. Being admitted into her confidence, and informed of

her deſign to ſnatch the ſceptre from the hand of her huſband, he eaſily perceived the extent of the danger to which ſhe was expoſed. He was ſenſible that ſhe might fail in the attempt, and be covered with ruin; that ſhe might ſuddenly be hurled from the throne and the bed of the emperor, and that her ſon would partake in her fall. It was this that the governor dreaded the moſt.

The firſt thought that occurred to him for avoiding this misfortune, was to engage the two oppoſite parties to abate of their extravagant pretenſions; and he could no otherwiſe hope to gain their conſent to this mutual ſurrender, than by employing thoſe fears they reciprocally entertained of each other. He accordingly reſolved to bring about a coalition, thereby to pave the way for Peter to be ſeated on the throne, and in order that he might be proclaimed emperor, not by the troops, but by the ſenate, who at the ſame time would limit his power, and ſecure the authority to his wife and his ſon.

This project once conceived, Panin ſet himſelf ſeriouſly about the means of its execution. Ambition all at once gave a momentary turn to his character. His indolence gave place to activity, diſcretion ſucceeded to his temerity, and reſerve to his uſual babble. He diſtruſted even Ca-

tharine herſelf, and never imparted to her a ſhare in his ſecret. He went farther: he affected no longer to frequent, and feigned to have abandoned his party. But, no ſooner did he think himſelf ſafe from all ſuſpicion of his intentions, than he reſorted in ſecret to the houſe of Ivan Schuvaloff.

Ivan Schuvaloff had given himſelf up to the moſt pungent anxieties. He ſhuddered, he even ſhed tears at the thoughts of being the leader of a party, and at ſeeing the dangerous honour aſcribed to him of a project conceived by Peter Schuvaloff, his ambitious couſin*; who, confined at this time to his bed by a ſickneſs that laid him ſoon after in the grave, could not ſupport the inſolence he had for ſome time inſpired into the haughty and puſillanimous favourite of Elizabeth.

The circumſtance was favourable to Panin. He failed not to turn it to his advantage. He

* Count Peter Schuvaloff was of a bold and romantic turn, and the oppoſite in all things of his couſin Ivan, whoſe only propenſity was to ſordid intrigue. Peter Schuvaloff made himſelf famous in Ruſſia for his ambition, and in Europe for the invention of the cannons that bear his name. He fancied himſelf alone able to prevent the grand duke from reigning, and only made uſe of his couſin Ivan as an ordinary inſtrument.

dexterouſly

dexterouſly employed his ingenuity in augmenting the horrors of Ivan Schuvaloff, by exaggerating the dangers to which he was expoſed.—"How can you venture," ſaid he, "to contend "with unequal forces, againſt the grand duke, "bringing upon yourſelf an irreparable ruin and "a certain death, by endeavouring to ſet aſide "from the throne a prince who is called to it "by the choice of the ſovereign, and who, by "his birth is the only legitimate heir? But "even ſuppoſing you could ſucceed in preventing the ſceptre from paſſing into his hand, "have you any reaſon to hope to preſerve your "influence for any conſiderable time, during a "minority, the weakneſs whereof will embolden "your rivals, and raiſe up a hoſt of malcontents, "inceſſantly plotting your diſgrace? If you are "victorious over one faction, can you equally "flatter yourſelf with eſcaping the other? If the "firſt blow that is ſtruck at you falls ſhort of its "aim, by the ſecond, more ſucceſsful, you may "be eaſily overthrown. If you would follow the "advice of a friend, and the dictates of prudence, "you will ſedulouſly frequent the levées of the "grand duke and conciliate his favour. Time "ſtill is yours. He himſelf is well informed of "the obſtacles to be thrown in his way, and he "will think himſelf happy enough, if, at the

"expence of ſome ſacrifices, he deprives them "of the power to hurt him. Let us leave him "then the quiet poſſeſſion of the throne; but "let us oblige him to purchaſe it on conditions "that will thenceforward diſpel our fears, and "for ever diſable the prince from abuſing his "power. It would be unneceſſary at preſent "for me to ſpecify thoſe conditions: but if you "comply with my advice, I have not the leaſt "doubt but the grand duke will eaſily be brought "to agreement, and I promiſe to furniſh you "with a plan adapted to reconcile the ſeveral "parties that divide the court."

Count Ivan Schuvaloff anſwered not a ſingle word; but, convinced of the wiſdom of Panin's advice, he immediately repaired to his couſin Peter, and imparted to him in whiſpers the counſels he had juſt received. Diſeaſe had abated the courage of Peter Schuvaloff, and relaxed the ſprings of his ambition. But, though he eaſily yielded to the perſuaſion of the reality of all the formidable apprehenſions that terrified Ivan, yet, in relinquiſhing his project, he was determined to play the principal part.

He ſent an humble meſſage to the grand duke, acquainting him, that, having to communicate to him ſecrets of the utmoſt importance, and being prevented from quitting his bed by a painful diſeaſe,

diſeaſe, he was his ſubmiſſive petitioner for the honour of a viſit. The prince went directly to his chamber. Being ſeated by his couch, Peter Schuvaloff addreſſed him with the energy and awful ſolemnity of a man, who, trembling on the brink of the grave, knows of no artifices for concealing the truth, and has nothing any longer to deſire or to fear.—" My prince," ſaid he, " you are not ignorant of the prepoſſeſſions that " are abroad againſt you. The people imagine " that you incline more to the Germans than to " them; the clergy dread you; the principal " nobility hate you. The clouds that are ga- " thering round, ſeem to threaten you with a " tempeſtuous reign. All circumſtances concur " to demonſtrate that for preventing the alter- " ations you are thought to intend, your enemies " will proceed to extremities. I pretend not, " my prince, to know what are the deſigns you " really meditate; I cannot foreſee whether you " will triumph over thoſe who are ſeeking your " ruin, or whether they will get the better of " you. But if you carry into effect what it is " ſuppoſed you are determined to do: if you " repudiate the grand ducheſs, to elevate to her " place a woman ſo vile and contemptible as the " counteſs Vorontzoff, be aſſured that you will " draw upon yourſelf a ſeries of calamities, to

" which,

" which, ſooner or later, you will fall a victim,
" and that you and your memory will be diſ-
" honoured for ever."

As he liſtened to this diſcourſe, the grand duke was obſerved at ſeveral times to change colour; and on perceiving that Peter Schuvaloff had left off ſpeaking, he aſſured him, that the charge of any deſign to diſſolve his marriage was a falſe imputation, and that nothing ſhould ever perſuade him to it. But what might lead to a ſuſpicion of the ſincerity of theſe proteſtations, is, that the prince added theſe remarkable words: " Romanovna herſelf may perhaps give credit to " reports that flatter her vanity: ſhe is a ſimple-" ton, whom I never promiſed to marry, but in " caſe the grand ducheſs ſhould die; and ſhe is " ſtill alive."

However, as Peter Schuvaloff was ſincerely deſirous of an accommodation with the grand duke, he omitted to give this laſt avowal all the interpretation of which it was ſuſceptible, and was ſatisfied with the promiſe given him by the prince, that he would blot from his memory all the machinations that had been ſo daringly formed againſt him.

This reconciliation was effected without trouble, but one other ſtill remained, not leſs important, and far more difficult to obtain. We

have

have ſeen what odious ſuſpicions the enemies of the grand duke were continually pouring into the ears of the empreſs. That princeſs was alarmed with the apprehenſion that her nephew might be led to get rid of her by poiſon, and theſe fears augmented her weakneſs, and filled her with averſion for him that had raiſed them. Ever ſince her illneſs had prevented her from appearing in public, ſhe had ordered the grand duke to be denied admittance to her apartment; and that this order might appear the leſs extraordinary, ſhe had cauſed it in like manner to be ſignified to the grand ducheſs. The ſecret of theſe diviſions, of theſe diſturbances in the imperial family, was ſtill confined within the walls of the palace; but it might eaſily get vent, and be ſpread through the town; and if this ſhould be the caſe, if the empreſs ſhould have died without ſeeing the prince and his ſpouſe, the populace, always implicitly credulous, would have thought the unjuſt ſuſpicions of Elizabeth to have been founded in truth, and would have eagerly attributed to the nephew the death of the aunt. Something was therefore to be done to induce that princeſs to call the grand duke to her preſence.

Count Ivan Schuvaloff was grand chamberlain, and the principal perſon about the empreſs.

Panin

Panin thought him the propereſt man to ſollicit the reconciliation he wanted; but whether it was that Schuvaloff was afraid of troubling the empreſs too much in her preſent infirm condition; whether he was willing to keep the grand duke longer in an anxious ſuſpenſe, and avoid an explanation of the uttermoſt danger to all thoſe who had endeavoured to injure that prince; or whether, in a word, he reckoned on the ſurreptitious teſtament it was propoſed to bring to light; however it be, he abſolutely refuſed to make this requeſt.

Panin, on ſeeing the failure of his firſt attempt, addreſſed himſelf now to the confeſſor of Elizabeth. He frankly acknowledged to him, that the commiſſion with which he was charged was of a nature extremely delicate; and that though his ſollicitude for the ſalvation of the ſovereign might bring upon him remedileſs misfortune, yet the glory and comfort that would accrue to him from the ſucceſs of his aim, ſhould make him ſcorn diſgrace, and expect his recompenſe in a better world. He aſſured him likewiſe of the gratitude of the grand duke and grand ducheſs; and the monk, not leſs wiſhing, it may be ſuppoſed, to cheriſh the favour of the heir to the throne, than zealous for the eternal repoſe of the empreſs, promiſed to deliver his exhort-

ations

ations to her with all the energy of ſacred eloquence.

Every needful precaution was taken. A moment was choſen when Ivan Schuvaloff was abſent, and then the confeſſor approaching the bed of Elizabeth, diſcourſed to her of heavenly things, of the ſupreme and immortal Sovereign by whom earthly monarchs reign, of his juſtice, of his clemency, of his tribunal, before which only they who forgive can obtain forgiveneſs, and of that kingdom of God, of which the terreſtrial paradiſe was but a faint adumbration, but where only the charitable can obtain admiſſion, but where only the merciful can hope for mercy: which ended, he obtained of her a ſign of conſent. At this inſtant the grand duke entered, leading Catharine by the hand, who both fell on their knees by the bedſide, and Elizabeth pronounced in an indiſtinct tone of voice, and as if no more than the animal machine was concerned in the utterance, whatever was dictated to her by the prieſt. She ſaid to the prince and princeſs:—"That ſhe had always loved them; and "that with her dying breath ſhe wiſhed them all "kinds of bleſſings."

All that were witneſſes of this ſcene ſaw clearly, that the pardon came only from her lips; but appearances ſufficed the prince; and his partiſans

tiſans did not fail emphatically to repeat through the city the affectionate words pronounced by the empreſs, with ſeveral additions of their own.

On the other hand, Ivan Schuvaloff, who had not been able to make a merit of the reconciliation with the grand duke, but reſolved not to furniſh an occaſion for irritating that prince againſt him, ſtudiouſly omitted to contradict whatever they pleaſed to publiſh on the matter.

Proud of the important ſervice he had rendered the grand duke, Panin imagined he had thenceforward acquired ſuch a conſequence with him as to make him conſent entirely to the plan he had marked out. According to which, Peter, as ſoon as the empreſs had departed this life, was to repair to the ſenate, and there receive the crown by a ſolemn decree.

Panin therefore demanded an audience of the grand duke. This the prince granted without heſitation. He began by telling the prince, that what he had to deliver was worthy of all his attention. He then addreſſed him to the following effect:—"It is on the firſt ſtep you ſhall "take on aſcending the throne, that the pro- "ſperity of your reign and the glory you will "merit chiefly depend. There are two me- "thods, my prince, of inveſting yourſelf with "the

" the ſovereign power; the former, by cauſing " yourſelf to be proclaimed emperor by the " army; the ſecond, by receiving the crown at " the hands of the ſenate. The former is more " prompt; the latter more ſure. The eyes of " all Europe and a great part of Aſia are fixed " upon you. Reflect then on the honour you " will acquire among the numerous nations in " ſubjection to your ſovereignty, and even fo- " reigners too, when they behold you ſo gene- " rous as to wiſh to hold, from the free choice " of the repreſentatives of the ruſſian empire, " an authority which your predeceſſors owed " only to the force and venality of the troops.

" You know how frequent revolutions have " been in this empire; you know with what " facility a ſeduced or mutinous ſoldiery have " crowned or dethroned their monarchs. The " method that I propoſe is the only one adapted " to the prevention of dangerous machinations. " The ſenate, having once elected you, will " feel itſelf intereſted in ſupporting the work of " its hands; and the people, regarding your " perſon more ſacred, will always be ardent in " your defence."

The grand duke was moved; he was yielding to the impreſſion, when ſuddenly two of his courtiers entered. He communicated to them the

the propoſal of Panin, and aſked their opinion. One of them, who preſently perceived the inſidious nature of the meaſure propoſed to the prince, adviſed him to ſubmit his deciſion to the judgment of the old prince Trubetſkoï, whoſe long experience and conſummate wiſdom rendered him a proper guide. Prince Trubetſkoï had indeed been witneſs of ſeveral revolutions, and was a perfect maſter of the uſages and cuſtoms of his country.

He was ſent for. The grand duke repeated to him all that he had juſt been hearing from the mouth of Panin, and did not conceal his inclination to follow the advice of the count. But Trubetſkoï expreſſed himſelf of a different opinion, and delivered it with all the boldneſs of a veteran ſoldier, jealous of the honour of his ſovereigns.

" My prince," ſaid he, " the ſtep you have " been adviſed to take is not only attended with " far greater danger than that you are inſtructed to " dread, but in direct oppoſition to the cuſtoms " of the empire. The ruſſian conſtitution is " purely military; and the ſenate has never pre- " tended to interfere in the election of the tzars. " And what is that imaginary glory in preferring " to be crowned by a juridical aſſembly rather " than by a victorious army? Choſen by a diet or

" by

"by a ſenate, will the kings of Poland and of "Sweden ever take precedence of the emperor "of all the Ruſſias? The true, the only glory "of a monarch is to reign worthily. Make it "your endeavour then to merit that glory with- "out diſquieting yourſelf about a vain formality, "and putting yourſelf under the tutelage of an "ambitious ſenate, who will ſoon make you re- "pent the confidence you have repoſed in it. "But if unhappily your throne ſhould ſhake, "will that ſenate have the force to eſtabliſh it? "and if you ſhould ſet out with rendering the "army diſſatisfied by diſdaining to follow their "ancient uſage, will you not, ſooner or later, "have reaſon to dread their vengeance?"

This ſpeech cauſed the grand duke to waver in his reſolution. He was flattered by the brilliant novelty of the counſels of Panin; but the dread of affronting the army deprived him of courage to follow them. In this perplexity of mind, not knowing what determination he ought to adopt, he diſpatched one of his chamberlains to conſult the grand ducheſs.

Catharine, whoſe ambition was rouſed by Elizabeth's approaching diſſolution, and who felt the neceſſity of conciliating the popular favour by an exterior of piety, which, by thoſe

who beſt knew her, was ſuppoſed not to proceed from her heart; Catharine was punctual in frequenting the churches at the ſtated times of public devotion; but more particularly at the prayers that were now daily put up for imploring the re-eſtabliſhment of the health of the empreſs. Panin had imprudently neglected to inform her of his project. She was ſtill in the dark concerning the advantages to accrue from it to her. Beſides, ſhe had been employed ſeveral days in framing herſelf the form of the proclamation acknowledging the emperor, as well as that of the oath to be taken by the troops: and as ſhe plumed herſelf on writing in a ſtyle of peculiar elegance, and imagining that theſe two pieces would be received with admiration by the people at large, ſhe would not ſacrifice a labour, that would be loſt if the prince ſhould cauſe himſelf to be elected by the ſenate, as that body would itſelf, in that caſe, preſcribe the new form of the oath, and dictate the new proclamation. She therefore returned an abrupt anſwer to the grand duke, "that he ought to conform to eſtabliſhed "cuſtom."

Almoſt at the moment the grand duke received this anſwer, word was brought him, that his aunt, the empreſs Elizabeth, "commanded him to "live

"live long*;" in other words, that ſhe was dead. The tzarina expired on Chriſtmas-day 1761 †, after a long illneſs, and in excruciating pains, in the 52d year of her age, and the 22d of her reign. This princeſs was ſecond daughter to Peter the great; and, from being little better than a priſoner, became in a moment a deſpotic ſovereign, holding in her feeble and negligent hands the reins of this gigantic empire, the moſt extenſive on the globe of the earth; one part whereof alone, the ruſſian Aſia, is (as has already been obſerved in our preliminaries) far greater than all Europe taken together: nay, of which part only, one province, Siberia, greatly exceeds an empire of the firſt magnitude, namely China, with all its adjacent territories. For Elizabeth poſſeſſed neither the abilities nor the inclination for being an active ſovereign: and the illuſtrious family of this mighty monarch was more than once diſturbed by inteſtine revolutions. In

* The uſual form of announcing to another the death of ſome perſon, in practice among all claſſes and conditions of people. Procopy Kirillitch prikazal jeet: Procopius the ſon of Cyril, or perhaps Procopius Fitz-Cyril, "orders you "to live," is the ſame as to tell you that he is dead: or as often, Afanaſi Vaſſillievitch, Athanaſius the ſon of Baſil, prikazal dolgo jeet, orders you to live long.

† Or the 5th of January 1762, N. S.

 dungeons

dungeons at various diſtances from the reſidence, were languiſhing, in her reign, a dethroned emperor, exiled princes and dukes, vanquiſhed magnates, baniſhed commanders, ſtateſmen, courtiers, and women.

The reign of Elizabeth may be deſervedly termed peaceful and tranquil; yet, without reckoning the grand tumult at her acceſſion to the throne, there were not wanting revolutions of an inferior kind. In the year 1743, not long before the arrival of Catharine, a court conſpiracy againſt the empreſs was detected: which, though it coſt none of the accomplices their lives, yet the miniſter for the marine, Lapoukin, his very beautiful lady, his ſon, the counteſs Beſtucheff, ſiſter-in-law to the chancellor of the empire, ſeveral gentlemen of the chamber, and officers, received the knoot, had the fore-half of their tongues cut out, and were ſent to Siberia. In the year 1748, count Leſtoc, formerly body-ſurgeon to the empreſs, and the principal inſtrument of her elevation to the throne, was diſgraced by the chancellor Beſtucheff, whom he himſelf had promoted to that office, and by general Apraxin: he was firſt impriſoned in the caſtle, and afterwards exiled to ſome obſcure and ſolitary place in the government of Archangel.

Ten years afterwards the chancellor's own turn came; being in 1758 accuſed of high treaſon, and ſent off to one of his eſtates 120 verſts beyond Moſco. — Of more conſequence to the country was Elizabeth's participation in the formidable league againſt Frederic of Pruſſia, at the inſtigation of Beſtucheff, and which the grand duke beheld with extreme diſcontent. During the ever-memorable war of 1757—1762, that monarch was cruelly haraſſed by the ruſſian arms, though at times ſuch glorious victories were gained over them by his own; but what benefit could accrue from all this to the enormous empire? What was to compenſate the thouſands of lives and the prodigious ſums of money that it coſt to Ruſſia?

The eaſineſs and indolence of Elizabeth's character ſubjected her to the humours of favourites, who made a bad uſe of her authority. Her devotion often rendered her impious, and her clemency cruel. At the commencement of her reign ſhe made a vow never to puniſh a malefactor with death: the judges therefore, who could not decapitate criminals, deprived them of their lives by the barbarous puniſhment of the knoot; and never were there more tongues cut out, and more wretches ſent to Siberia, than

under the reign of this princeſs, ſo unjuſtly extolled for her clemency *.

It is ſuppoſed that her government coſt every year to the empire at leaſt 1000 of her ſubjects by private impriſonment, which, during the 20 years and upwards that ſhe reigned, makes the number amount to above 20,000. Nothing was more eaſy than to obtain a ſecret order for this purpoſe by the flatterers of all ranks that ſwarmed about her perſon. It was ſufficient for one of the maids of honour to think herſelf ſlighted, for

* The panegyriſts of Elizabeth (ſays Mr. Coxe) would certainly have entertained ſome doubts concerning her boaſted clemency, if they had recollected that ſhe did not aboliſh, but retained, the following horrid proceſs for the purpoſe of extorting confeſſion from perſons charged with treaſonable deſigns. The arms of the ſuſpected perſon being tied behind by a rope, he was drawn up in that poſture to a conſiderable height in the air; whence being ſuddenly lowered to within a ſmall diſtance of the ground, and the motion being there as ſuddenly checked, the violence of the concuſſion diſlocated his ſhoulders, and in that deplorable ſituation he underwent the knoot. To this dreadful engine of barbarity and deſpotiſm, Elizabeth, amidſt all her imputed lenity, gave unlimited ſcope; and, during her whole reign, it was ordinarily applied even at the diſcretion of inferior and ignorant magiſtrates; nor was it aboliſhed until the acceſſion of the preſent empreſs (Catharine II.), who has prohibited the uſe of torture in all criminal caſes. *Coxe's Travels*, 8vo. edit. vol. iii. p. 130.

getting

getting an order to have a perſon taken out of bed in the night, carried away blindfolded, and gagged, and immured under ground, there to drag out the remainder of life in a ſolitary and loathſome dungeon, without ever being charged with any crime, or even knowing in what part of the country he was. On the diſappearance of any ſuch perſon from his family, from his relatives, from the circle of his acquaintance, it was highly dangerous to make any inquiries after him. "He has diſappeared," was held a ſufficient anſwer to queſtions of that nature. Many of theſe were known to be ſtill miſerably wearing out exiſtence under the baſtions and towers of Schluſſelburg and other fortreſſes, ſo lately as the winter of 1780, not to mention the exiles to Siberia. To all this it may be added, that her reign was never marked by a ſingle act that could juſtify the revolution that placed on her head the crown of Ruſſia. In a word, ſhe was fitter to have vegetated in the ſloth of a convent, than to be ſeated on the throne of one of the largeſt of the chief empires of the world.

CHAP. II.

Acceſſion of Peter III.—His Dethronization and Death. — Revolution of 1762. — *Catharine aſſumes the Reins of Government.*

THE part taken by Elizabeth in the ſeven years' war, though it might in ſome meaſure have been dictated by reſentment, might at the ſame time have paſſed for the reſult of the ſoundeſt policy. No power but that of the king of Pruſſia was capable of checking hers. He was, not only from his ſtrength and character, but from the ſituation of his dominions, the only prince in Europe from whom it could be materially her intereſt to make conqueſts.

By the capture of Colberg on one hand, and Schweidnitz on the other, the king of Pruſſia's dominions were entirely at the mercy of his enemies; his forces were worn away, and even his efforts had gradually declined: a complete victory, though this was an event not at all probable, could not have ſaved him. The Ruſſians, by wintering in Pomerania, and by the poſſeſſion of Colberg, which inſured them ſupplies by a ſafe and expeditious channel, were in a condition

dition to commence their operations much earlier than uſual, as well as to ſuſtain them with more ſpirit and uniformity. No reſource of policy could be tried with the leaſt expectation of ſucceſs. After ſuch a reſiſtance for five years, of which the world never furniſhed another example, the king of Pruſſia had nothing left, but ſuch a conduct as might cloſe the ſcene with glory; ſince there was ſo little appearance of his concluding the war with ſafety.

In the midſt of theſe gloomy appearances, his inveterate and inflexible enemy, the empreſs of Ruſſia, died; and he was extricated by that event alone from the diſtreſſes by which he was actually ſurrounded, and the greater miſeries that ſeemed to await him.

With regard to her own dominions, Elizabeth, for her perſonal conveniency, had created a government by favourites; and by her paſſion for pomp and ſenſual gratifications, had incurred enormous debts.

No ſooner had the empreſs cloſed her eyes, than the courtiers preſſed in crowds to the grand duke. This prince, laying aſide at once his weakneſs and indeciſion, accoſted them with dignity, and received the oaths of the officers of his guard.

In

In about an hour he got on horſeback, and traverſed the ſtreets of St. Peterſburg, diſtributing money to the multitude. As he went, the ſoldiers flocked about him, crying, "If thou "take care of us, we will ſerve thee as faithfully "as we ſerved our good empreſs." The people mixed their ſhouts of joy with the acclamations of the ſoldiers; and, though the enemies of the grand duke had long ſince ſucceeded in their attempts to bring odium and contempt upon him, yet his acceſſion to the throne was not attended with the leaſt mark of diſcontent or ill-will.

As for himſelf, delivered on a ſudden from the long and ſervile conſtraint in which he had been kept by his aunt, he negligently let his ſatisfaction appear, but without betraying an indecent joy. He took the name of Peter III.

It was eaſy for him to efface the memory of his predeceſſor; yet it was obſervable that there was little appearance of thoſe cheerful ſentiments which uſually take poſſeſſion of the hearts of the ſubjects on the acceſſion of a young prince to the throne. All tempers ſeemed out of tune: the emperor neither found nor felt any more affection in the larger circle of the court, than in the ſmaller one of his family.

The

The Ruſſians were at that time, generally ſpeaking, indiſpoſed towards foreigners, though numbers of them, ſince the time of Peter the great, had always held places at the court, in the army, in the fleet, and in the civil departments. Elizabeth had flattered this old ruſſian prejudice; and, in order to ingratiate herſelf with the people, on her coming to the crown, had promiſed to remove the foreigners: but in the opinion of many of the nobility, and eſpecially of the army, ſhe came very far ſhort of her word. During her reign, in the year 1740, an inſurrection broke out on this account; the ſoldiers in the camp near Viborg, during the ſwediſh war, began on a ſudden to maltreat their foreign officers, and were threatening to proceed to very dangerous extremities, when diſcipline and order were preſently reſtored by the great preſence of mind of the intrepid Keith. Even in Peterſburg a ſimilar mutiny, ſhortly after the former, broke out, which, though at firſt only an attack on a german officer, yet proceeded to ſo great a height as to fill the whole city with alarm and conſternation. It was chiefly on account of this national humour, that generals Lœvendal, Keith, Manſtein, and other deſerving foreigners, afterwards took leave of the ſervice.

Indeed

Indeed the grand duke Peter could not properly be deemed a foreigner; he had rather a juſt claim on the national love, as the grandſon of Peter the great. But he was after all an Holſteiner; he had not long been reſident in Ruſſia; and lived there almoſt like a foreigner. Neither in manners, nor in language, nor in religious profeſſion, did he ſeem a complete and genuine Ruſſian. His confidence and familiarity were confined to the Germans from his dukedom; all his affections ſeemed to centre in Holſtein alone, while he ſhewed only coldneſs or even repugnance to the concerns of his future empire. Nor was this at all ſurpriſing, as the ſituation in which he was held, by keeping him at a diſtance from the deliberations of the cabinet, naturally diminiſhed his attention to public affairs; and as he juſtly diſapproved of the violent participation with which his aunt and her miniſtry engaged in the great german war. — Both parties, if they had not yet proceeded to intemperate meaſures, had, however, already concerted their plans, or rather had begun to put them in play. The grand duke, according to ſome, ought to be deprived of the ſucceſſion; and then they could caſt their eyes on no perſon ſo proper for it as his conſort; who, though a foreigner likewiſe, had yet in her whole behaviour aſſimilated herſelf more with the

the nation, and might reign as the guardian of her ſon. On the other hand, the grand duke wanted, as was ſaid by others, or perhaps by the ſame, entirely to new-model the whole ſyſtem of Ruſſia, to put every thing on a german footing, to employ the force of the empire only in the aggrandiſement of Holſtein; and, in order to enable himſelf to act with perfect freedom, and to annihilate the oppoſite party at a ſtroke, to detach himſelf from his family, and to ſecure to a paternal relation the expectative of the crown.

Such was the temper of the times when Peter acceded to the imperial dignity. In the manifeſto by which he proclaimed this event to the empire, he mentioned neither his conſort nor even his ſon; and interpreters were not wanting, who clearly perceived in this omiſſion the overthrow of the hereditary ſucceſſion. A circumſtance that operated with greater impreſſion was, that he made no preparations for his coronation at Moſco; a ſolemnity of the utmoſt importance, as a practice of high antiquity, and as conferring an awful ſanction on the authority of the ſovereign in the minds of the people. Inſtead of this he puſhed his blind paſſion for imitating the king of Pruſſia ſo far, that he made pre-

preparations in this immature ſtate of his government to quit Ruſſia, and go into Germany, for the ſake of an interview with that great monarch, whoſe genius, principles, and fortune he ſo extravagantly admired.

The impartial hiſtorian cannot withhold the tribute of praiſe from his conduct at the beginning of his reign. To ſay that he revenged himſelf on no one, though he very well knew who had taken pains to injure him with the late empreſs, would be but ſlight commendation, in compariſon of the acts of beneficence and juſtice with which he ſignalized his firſt acceſſion to the ſupreme command, to the aſtoniſhment of thoſe who knew him only by his vices. The transformation appeared as complete as it was ſudden. Gentleneſs and humanity took the place of violence; and reflection ſucceeded to paſſion. The grand duke had been inconſiſtent, impetuous, and wild: Peter III. now ſhowed himſelf equitable, patient, and enlightened. He exerciſed kindneſs towards all who had been attached to the late empreſs his aunt. He continued in their poſts almoſt all the great officers of ſtate. He pardoned his enemies. He raiſed to the rank of field-marſhal Peter Schuvaloff, who had been long confined to his bed, and who died ſhortly after.

after. He left the place of grand-veneur to Alexey Gregorievitch Razumoffſky*, the favourite of Elizabeth. He even conferred benefits on Ivan Schuvaloff, though he had frequently made an unworthy uſe of his influence.

Prince Shafuſkoï, advocate of the ſenate, of whom Peter III. had great reaſon to complain, was the only perſon he removed from his employment; but he exacted of him nothing more than a ſimple reſignation, leaving him both his liberty and his poſſeſſions. At the ſame time a certain Gleboff, who from being but a common attorney, was appointed to tranſact the affairs of Holſtein, and in that adminiſtration had obtained the good-will of the prince, was put into the place of Shafuſkoï. Gleboff afterwards but ill requited ſo ſignal a mark of the confidence of his maſter.

The grand ducheſs, who could not think without dread of the moment when her huſband ſhould be inveſted with the ſovereign power, and expected nothing ſhort of a very ſevere animadverſion upon herſelf, received from him

* Alexey Razumoffſky had often injured the grand duke with the empreſs Elizabeth. The grand duke one day ſent him an axe upon a red ſatin cuſhion, as a hint of the cataſtrophe that awaited him; but when this prince was ſeated on the throne, he diſdained every idea of revenge.

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the moſt flattering ſalutations, and marks of the greateſt confidence. He ſeemed to forget the wrongs he had ſuffered, in the elegancies of her mind, and the force of her genius. He paſſed a great part of the day in her apartments: diſcourſed with her on the moſt friendly footing, and conſulted her on all delicate and important affairs. The courtiers, ſurpriſed at this conduct, felicitated Catharine on the happineſs of her lot. Catharine was almoſt the only perſon who was not deceived. She eaſily ſaw that her huſband was not capable of governing by himſelf, and ſhe was too well acquainted with his character, to miſtake that for benevolence which was only weakneſs.

With regard to the government of his country, nothing could be more popular and auſpicious than his firſt meaſures. The earlieſt uſe the new tzar made of his abſolute power, was to ſet the ruſſian nobility and gentry free, and to put them on the ſame footing with thoſe of their rank in the other more moderate governments of Europe. He recalled that multitude of ſtate priſoners with whom the ſuſpicious temper of Elizabeth, and the jealouſies of her ſervants, had peopled the deſerts of Siberia *. Among theſe

* It is ſaid that Peter III. recalled to the number of 17,000 exiles.

unfortunate

unfortunate wretches was the famous Biren *, who had long been the haughty lover and the cruel

* Erneſt John Biren, become ſo famous by his great advancements, and his not leſs extraordinary reverſes of fortune, was born in Courland, of a family of mean extraction. His grandfather had been head groom to James the third, duke of Courland, and obtained from his maſter the preſent of a ſmall eſtate in land. His ſon accompanied prince Alexander, youngeſt ſon of the duke, in a campaign into Hungary againſt the Turks, in quality of groom of his horſe, and with the rank of lieutenant. Prince Alexander being killed before Buda, in 1686, Biren returned into Courland, and was appointed maſter huntſman to the duke. Erneſt John his ſecond ſon was born in 1687, received the early part of his education in Courland, and was ſent to the univerſity of Konigſburg, where he continued till ſome youthful imprudencies compelled him to retire. In 1714, he made his appearance at St. Peterſburg, and ſollicited the place of page to the princeſs Charlotte, wife of the tzarovitch Alexey; but being contemptuouſly rejected as a perſon of mean extraction, retired to Mittau, where he chanced to ingratiate himſelf with count Beſtucheff, maſter of the houſehold to Anne, widow of Frederic William, duke of Courland, who reſided at Mittau. Being of a handſome figure and polite addreſs, he ſoon gained the good-will of the ducheſs, and became her ſecretary and chief favourite. On her being declared ſovereign of Ruſſia, Anne called Biren to Peterſburg, and the ſecretary ſoon became duke of Courland, and firſt miniſter or rather deſpot of Ruſſia. All now felt the dreadful effects of his extreme arrogance, his baſe intrigues, and his horrid barbarity. The cruelties he exerciſed on the moſt illuſtrious perſons of the country

cruel miniſter of the empreſs Anne. Peter III. reſtored him only to liberty; but Catharine ſince gave him back the duchy of Courland; and Biren, inſtructed in the ſchool of adverſity, paſſed the reſt of his life as a practical philoſopher, and became the father of a people whom he had formerly oppreſſed.

Peter III. brought alſo from Siberia marſhal Munich*, at the age of 82, upon which one of

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almoſt exceed belief: and Manſtein conjectures, that during the ten years in which Biren's power continued, above 20,000 perſons were ſent to Siberia, of whom ſcarcely 5000 were ever heard of more. It is affirmed that the empreſs has often fallen on her knees before him, in hopes of moving him to clemency, but neither the prayers nor the tears of that princeſs were able to affect him. — On the death of Anne, which happened in 1740, Biren being declared regent, continued daily increaſing his vexations and cruelties, till he was arreſted on the 18th of December, only twenty days after he had been appointed to the regency, and at the revolution that enſued he was exiled to the frozen ſhores of the Oby.

* Chriſtopher Burchard, better known under the name of marſhal Munich, was ſon of an officer in the ſervice of Denmark. After having received a good education, he entered at the age of 17 into the ſervice of the landgraf of Heſſe-Darmſtadt, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in his firſt campaign under prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough. He afterwards went into Poland, and thence paſſed on to Ruſſia,

of his ſons who was yet alive, and thirty-two of his grandchildren and great-grandchildren, went to accoſt him on his approach to the ſuburbs of the reſidence. The old ſoldier preſented himſelf before the emperor with his numerous family, and dreſſed in the ſame ſheepſkin pelice which he had worn in the deſerts of Pelim; but the prince haſtily reſtored him the badges of the order of St. Andrew, together with his rank of field-marſhal, and ſaid to him, in a friendly tone of voice: "I hope that, notwithſtanding your "advanced age, you may ſtill ſerve me."— Munich replied: "Since your majeſty has "brought me from darkneſs to light, and called

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Ruſſia, where his bravery and his talents obtained him the rank of field-marſhal. His capital defect was being too circumſtantial and over-nice in matters of ſmall import: accordingly the ſlighteſt inſtance of forgetfulneſs, the leaſt inattention of a ſubaltern, threw him into a rage, though he was preſently after aſhamed of his violence. When Elizabeth had aſcended the throne, ſhe ſought to avenge herſelf on Munich, for having formerly cauſed one of her lovers to be put into priſon. Being brought to an iniquitous trial, he was condemned to be quartered; but his ſentence was changed by the empreſs into perpetual baniſhment in Siberia. He was followed into exile by his wife and ſeveral domeſtics. He was allowed but 12 copeeks per day for the maintenance of them all, but he procured ſome addition to this allowance by ſelling milk, and giving leſſons in geometry to the young people that came to his ſolitude from the neareſt towns.

" me from the depths of a cavern to admit me " to the foot of the throne, you will find me " ever ready to expoſe my life in your ſervice. " Neither a tedious exile, nor the ſeverity of a " ſiberian climate, have been able to extinguiſh, " or even to damp the ardour I have formerly " ſhewn for the intereſts of Ruſſia and the glory " of its monarch*."

Leſtok, to whom Elizabeth in a great meaſure owed her elevation to the throne, and whom ſhe afterwards baſely ſacrificed to the intrigues of his enemies, who only coveted his property, was alſo recalled by Peter III.†, and, by living afterwards at Peterſburg contented with an humble mediocrity, proved that he had ſhewn no leſs docility to the leſſons of adverſity than Biren and Munich.

Thus every day was ſeen arriving at Peterſburg ſome of the victims of the foregoing reign; and their return preſented an affecting ſcene to the people, and a ſubject of benedictions to

* Munich enjoyed the favour and patronage of Peter III. and Catharine II. and died on the 16th of October 1767, in the 85th year of his age.

† Leſtok was a ſurgeon; by birth a German. He was favourite to Elizabeth, and was a principal in planning the revolution of 1742. But that ungrateful princeſs forgot this favour, and baniſhed and detained him in priſon till ſhe died.

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the tzar. The whole empire reſounded with the praiſes of its new ſovereign; and it is impoſſible to deſcribe the admiration, the tranſports of joy, that it occaſioned on his going in ſtate to the ſenate, and reading a declaration, by which he permitted the nobility either to bear arms or not, at their own diſcretion, and to travel abroad, a liberty not allowed them before. He affranchiſed them at the ſame time from the ſervitude in which they had been held by his predeceſſors. The nobility, in the exceſs of their gratitude, would do no leſs than erect to him a ſtatue of gold: but this enthuſiaſm laſted not long*.

A benefit more eſſential which Ruſſia owes to Peter III. is the aboliſhment of that inquiſition, that terrible tribunal, or, as his ſucceſſor, when ſhe confirmed the emperor's ukaſe, very juſtly

* See the Appendix at the end of the volume. Catharine, not willing to diſoblige the nobility, and being moreover very ſure that this ordinance would only be executed as far as ſhe pleaſed, left it to ſubſiſt; in ſuch manner, that if the nobles would travel, they might do ſo of right, but not of fact, ſince they muſt aſk permiſſion of the ſovereign; and that princeſs did not always grant it. Of this count Stroganoff was a proof. For more than three years he was deſirous of making the tour of Europe; but it was in vain that he ſollicited the conſent of the empreſs; who always gave him for anſwer, that ſhe could not diſpenſe with him; and he remained at home.

named it, the ſecret inquiſition chancery, a perſecuting court that ſhunned the light, in which every cruelty of indefinite accuſation, and an examination without judicial forms prevailed, and which perpetrated ſo many horrors under the reign of the ſuſpicious and timid Elizabeth. Alexey Michailovitch, the father of Peter the great, was the inſtitutor of this tyrannical tribunal, under the name of the ſecret committee, which was buſied in judging or rather in condemning all ſuch as were accuſed of high treaſon, in other words, whoever was diſpleaſing to the prince or his informers. Perſons of all ranks and ſexes were liable to be arreſted upon the ſlighteſt ſuſpicions, and tortured in the moſt dreadful manner. There was a by-word; "Slovò i delo, "words and deeds;" which if any one only pronounced againſt another, was ſufficient cauſe for the latter to be immediately apprehended, and ſent to the ſecret committee.

But it ought to be noticed how Peter III. came to utter theſe two declarations, dictated by the moſt enlightened notions of juſtice, and the moſt generous confidence. It ſhould be explained how it happened, that in the conduct of this prince was to be ſeen ſuch an extraordinary mixture of foreſight and forgetfulneſs, of dignity and weakneſs. His defects, his vices, were the

unhappy and neceſſary effect of his education; his worthy actions might charitably be ſuppoſed to proceed from the noble ambition of doing good: but this ambition was often in need of being rouſed.

The tzar had, in quality of his general aid-de-camp, an intimate friend, a young Ukrainer, named Gudovitch *, of whom we have before made mention, and who, of all his courtiers, was the only one that loved him ſincerely. It was Gudovitch, who, when Peter was on the point of coming to the throne, induced him to follow the advice of the old prince Trubetſkoï, rather than implicitly to rely on that of Panin; it was he likewiſe who prompted him to all thoſe prudent and dignified meaſures which ſignalized the firſt days of his reign. But the emperor, ſurrounded by his corrupters, ſoon fell back into his indolence, and more than ever abandoned himſelf to his cuſtomary habits. Shut up for ſeveral days ſucceſſively with his miſtreſs and ſome of his table-companions, he was in a ſtate of almoſt continual intoxication, when Gudovitch preſented himſelf before him, and, with a countenance of ſtudied ſeverity, ſaid to him: "Peter Feodoro-"vitch, I now plainly perceive that you prefer

* The ſame whom the tzar, while only grand duke, would have made hetman of the Koſaks, in the room of Cyril Razumoſſky.

" to us the enemies of your fame. You are
" irrecoverably ſubſervient to them; you ac-
" knowledge them to have had good reaſon for
" ſaying that you were more addicted to low and
" degrading pleaſures, than fit to govern an em-
" pire. Is it thus that you emulate your vigilant
" and laborious grandſire, that Peter the great
" whom you have ſo often ſwore to take for your
" model? Is it thus that you perſevere in the
" wiſe and noble conduct, by which, at your ac-
" ceſſion to the throne, you merited the love and
" the admiration of your people? But that love,
" that admiration, are already forgotten. They
" are ſucceeded by diſcontent and murmurs.
" Peterſburg is anxiouſly inquiring whether the
" tzar has ceaſed to live within its walls? The
" whole empire begins to fear that it has che-
" riſhed only vain expectations of receiving laws
" that ſhall revive its vigour and increaſe its
" glory. The malevolent are alone triumphant;
" and ſoon will the intrigues, the cabals, which
" the firſt moments of your reign had reduced
" to ſilence, again raiſe their heads with re-
" doubled inſolence. Shake off then this diſ-
" graceful lethargy, my tzar! haſten to ſhew and
" to prove, by ſome reſplendent act of virtue,
" that you are worthy of realiſing thoſe hopes that
" have been formed and cheriſhed of you."

Peter

Peter liſtened to this diſcourſe with a mixture of conſternation and ſhame; and when Gudovitch had left off ſpeaking, he aſked what he would have him to do to compenſate the empire for the days he had been ſpending in riot. Gudovitch inſtantly preſented him the two declarations that had been put into his hands by the grand chancellor Vorontzoff—one for reſtoring the nobility to their rights, and the other for aboliſhing the ſecret committee. Peter took theſe papers without ſtaying to conſider of them, and putting them under his arm, went and read them to the ſenate.

All thoſe who were apprized of the contents of theſe new declarations made their diſcontentment give place to joy, and fondly imagined that the emperor had been ſolely employed, during his late retreat, in framing theſe wiſe and ſalutary laws.

Peter III. undertook alſo to correct the numerous abuſes that had crept into the adminiſtration of juſtice, and to eſtabliſh ſome forms of juriſprudence more prompt in deciding, and leſs favourable to the arts of chicane; but as an alteration attended with ſo many difficulties was not the work of a day, it was neceſſary for him to begin by gaining a thorough knowledge of the courts,

courts, and a close investigation of their practice. He repaired to the senate at an instant when he was not expected; and finding it nearly deserted, he sent for the senators, and represented to them with sharpness, but with dignity, how sensible he was of their negligence *.

Commerce, the sciences, the arts, were equally the objects of attention to the new tzar. In Russia almost every department of the administration is confided to a certain number of persons, who form a board, to which is given the title of College: thus it is said, the College of Commerce, the College of Justice, the College of War, the College of Foreign Affairs, and the like. Peter III. frequently visited these colleges; he assisted at their deliberations; he even summoned them together; and though he might not enlighten them by his sagacity, he at least animated them by his encouragements.

He seemed to have it at heart to induce the people to put confidence in him. But this was no easy task, for the people by the suggestion of

* On a similar occasion, Peter I. behaved with somewhat less moderation. He gave each of them a shower of blows with his *doubine*—a staff that he always carried with him, and which in size was not one of the smallest.

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the popes*, knew that this prince preferred lutheraniſm to the orthodox greek religion, and the Germans to the Ruſſians. Nevertheleſs the tzar, docile to the advice of his friend, and ſedulous to imitate the example of the king of Pruſſia, gave eaſy audience to all who came, received their petitions, and took the pains himſelf to ſee that juſtice was done them. His very enemies, therefore, could not forbear to extol a popularity that reminded them, in ſome reſpects, of that of Peter the great.

Peter III. on his firſt acceſſion to the crown, invited the foreign miniſters to his audience, and received their congratulations with dignity. This noble and becoming behaviour, in entire oppoſition to the idea they had almoſt all formed of this prince, exceedingly ſurpriſed them: but what aſtoniſhed them ſtill more was, that in a ſplendid repaſt which he gave them, he was very reſerved in his diſcourſe, and drank with moderation†. In ſhort, the Ruſſians and foreigners vied with each other in admiring a change which they

* All the pariſh-prieſts in Ruſſia are called popes. The pope of ſuch a church, village, &c.

† His enemies, always faithful to their plan of calumny, ſtudiouſly propagated, both within and without the empire, the report that this prince was almoſt perpetually in a ſtate of inebriety.

could

could ſcarcely credit. Even the court of Vienna for ſome time ſecurely repoſed in the intentions of the new tzar. Maria Thereſa flattered herſelf that the death of Elizabeth would not totally diſſolve the alliance that ſubſiſted between the two empires; but ſhe was deceived in her expectations.

It was impoſſible for Peter III. to diſſemble; and of all the ſentiments he entertained, that which he was leaſt able to conceal was his enthuſiaſm for the king of Pruſſia. He ſet at liberty all the pruſſian priſoners that were confined at Peterſburg, and admitted them to his table. One of them, whom he treated with the greateſt deference, was the count de Hordt, a ſwediſh officer, who had entered into the ſervice of Frederic, and whom Elizabeth had detained three years in exile *. The tzar took him into

* Count de Hordt, lieutenant-general of the pruſſian troops, was made priſoner by the Ruſſians after the battle of Cuſtrin. Elizabeth ſent him into baniſhment in revenge for the treatment of a ruſſian officer, whom the king of Pruſſia had cauſed to be broke alive on the wheel, for forming a plot of revolt, and meditating to maſſacre the garriſon of Cuſtrin, where he was kept priſoner. When Hordt appeared before Peter III. and related to him, that, independently of the ill-treatment he had received in priſon, he had been denied the uſe of books; Catharine, who was preſent, exclaimed; "That was very barbarous."

his

his confidence, made him his friend, and the king of Pruſſia was almoſt always the topic of their converſation.

He but rarely invited the foreign miniſters to his court, excepting the pruſſian envoy and Mr. Keith, the britiſh ambaſſador; which rendered his coolneſs the more diſagreeable to the reſt. Peter had long kept up a cloſe correſpondence with Frederic, whom he addreſſed in his letters under no other ſtyle than his dear brother or his worthy maſter. He reminded him in one of them, that previous to his being elected grand duke, he had had the honour of ſerving in his army; and went ſo far as to pray him to grant him a higher rank.

The king of Pruſſia very dexterouſly took advantage of the friendſhip of the tzar. He gave him not immediately the rank he ſollicited, that he might increaſe his avidity for it: but after ſome time had elapſed, wrote him word, that he had appointed him major-general, not on account of his quality as a prince, but ſolely becauſe of the military ſkill he knew him to poſſeſs. This pretended favour filled Peter with joy. His faſcination for the king of Pruſſia became now more ſtrong. He cauſed the portrait of that monarch to be placed in his chamber,

ber *, and celebrated this inauguration, and the glory he had acquired in being admitted to a rank at Berlin, by a ſplendid repaſt, in which he forgot that temperance which he had for ſome time obſerved.

If Peter's infatuation for the king of Pruſſia had not been complete, he might have been corrected of it by ſome leſſons he received from his own ſubjects, To mention but one. "Do "you know," ſaid he one day to the hetman Razumoffſky, "do you know that, before I was "grand duke, I was lieutenant in the ſervice of "the king of Pruſſia?"—"Well!" replied the kozak, "your majeſty may now make the king "of Pruſſia a field-marſhal."

The pruſſian aſcendant was not only diſpleaſing to the generality of the courtiers and to ſome of the foreign miniſters, but the alterations introduced by the tzar did not meet with univerſal approbation. Some of them even created him

* It was a portrait which count Totleben had made a preſent of to the empreſs Elizabeth, who had diſmiſſed it into an obſcure corner of the palace; and during the whole of her reign nobody might keep a portrait of the king of Pruſſia. The grand duke alone had a miniature, which he wore on his finger in a ring, and which he took care to conceal when he was in the preſence of his aunt.

a great

a great number of enemies, and evinced that if he had ſometimes good intentions, he was deficient in judgment, and eſpecially in that energy of character ſo neceſſary for the ruler of a nation. Together with the wiſeſt plans he often adopted ſuch as were uſeleſs, and others that were even dangerous. The deſire of making improvements made him imprudently hazard premature reformations.

Peter took the vaſt poſſeſſions of the church, and made them into domains of the crown, putting the clergy on yearly ſalaries, but forming a very decent income, of 5000 down to 150 rubles. It was, undoubtedly, juſt and beneficial to diminiſh the wealth of the monks, and to attack prejudices injurious to the ſtate; but at the commencement of a reign againſt which prepoſſeſſions had long been formed, in a nation ſunk in ſuperſtition, and juſt beginning to emerge from barbariſm, was it expedient to irritate a numerous claſs of men, who by their ſituation had ſo much influence over the reſt? Was it expedient to take from the churches the figures of the ſaints, which to the Ruſſians are the objects of profound veneration? Was it expedient to excite the ſacred rage of the devotees by baniſhing the archbiſhop of Novgorod, who ſtood forth againſt this violation? Surely not: and yet this was what Peter did; but he found

found himſelf ſuddenly obliged to recal this prelate: and by this freſh inſtance of weakneſs he revived the hopes of his enemies, and did not pacify the offended popes. They ſpread a report from one end of the empire to the other, that the emperor had only feigned to embrace the greek communion to qualify himſelf for filling the throne, but that he was ſtill a lutheran at heart, of which he was every day giving freſh proofs by ſhewing a profound contempt for the rites, the ceremonies, and the religion of the Ruſſians.

To corroborate theſe reports, the people were reminded, that he had cauſed to be built, in his palace at Oranienbaum, a lutheran chapel, at the conſecration whereof he himſelf had aſſiſted, diſtributing with his own hands hymn-books among his holſtein ſoldiers, though he had not deigned to ſet his foot in a greek church that was conſtructed about the ſame time. It was ſaid that he had again inſulted the ſaints, in naming two of his newly-conſtructed ſhips, the one after his uncle, the Prince George, and the other the Frederic, after the king of Pruſſia *.

* Catharine, who knew how to flatter the people, changed the names of theſe two ſhips. The one was called the St. Nicholas, the other the St. Alexander. Their holy patrons, however, did not ſave them from the Turks in the war of 1768: they were both taken.

It

It was induſtriouſly propagated, that he never ſpoke but with diſdain of the ruſſian empire and only with reſpect of the Germans. All theſe reports, circulated with artifice, ſoon alienated from the prince thoſe hearts which the firſt days of his reign had won him.

While his adverſaries were thus eaſily rendering him ſo ſuſpected of the people, he himſelf was ſeemingly taking pains to offend the army. He was continually ſhewing preferences to the german ſoldiers over the ruſſian troops: He diſbanded the noble guards, who had formerly placed Elizabeth on the throne; he deprived the horſe guards of the ſervice they performed at court, and ſubſtituted his holſtein guards in their place. He introduced the pruſſian exerciſe, which was undoubtedly better than that to which they had been accuſtomed, but which diſpleaſed becauſe it was ſtill to be learned; he excited diſcontents in the regiments of Iſmaïloff and Préobajenſky, by ordering one part to leave St. Peterſburg, and march into Pomerania, to join the army he had deſtined to act againſt Denmark. He raiſed his uncle, prince George of Holſtein, an officer of but little experience, to the rank of generaliſſimo of the ruſſian armies, giving him at the ſame time the particular command of the horſe guards—a command which

had hitherto never belonged to any one but the ſupreme head of the empire. In ſhort, he ſo far prejudiced his troops againſt him, that the moſt beneficial alteration occaſioned a general diſcontent. It was even made a ſubject of murmur, that he deſigned to diſtinguiſh the regiments by different facings and collars *.—It was ſaid to be a german faſhion, not proper for Ruſſia.---

The king of Pruſſia, whom Peter III. informed, with ſcrupulous care, of all that he was doing, frequently gave him advice. His firſt ſtep was to diſſuade him from the plans of hoſtility he was meditating againſt Denmark, in order to recover his dukedom of Holſtein: but ſeeing that he could not induce him to alter his reſolution, he adviſed him, previous to his entering on the war, to go and be crowned at Moſco, with all the cuſtomary pomp and ceremony, and not to ſet out on his march for the army without taking with him the foreign miniſters, and all the Ruſſians whoſe fidelity he had reaſon to ſuſpect. He alſo recommended him not to begin too ſoon to touch the poſſeſſions of

* It has been falſely aſſerted that Peter III. wanted to introduce in Ruſſia the blue colour inſtead of green in the clothing of the troops: he changed nothing but the trimmings and the facings of the dreſs of the infantry.

the

the church, and not to meddle with the dreſs of the monks, as all theſe minute particulars are of the utmoſt conſequence in the eyes of a bigoted race. In ſhort, he uſed every argument to perſuade him to keep up that deference and reſpect which he owed to his ſpouſe, and eſpecially for his own ſecurity *.

It is not to be doubted that Frederic, who was well acquainted with the character of Peter and that of Catharine, had long foreſeen what happened afterwards. Accordingly, writing to his miniſter to continue to live in intimacy with the tzar, he gives him orders to pay great attentions to the empreſs.

However, Peter unhappily thought it not neceſſary to follow in all things the leſſons of the monarch whom he ſtyled his maſter. He inſenſibly reſumed his vicious habits; frequently

* Peter III. was ſo remote from all miſtruſt, that he anſwered the king of Pruſſia:—"In regard to the concern "you take in my ſafety, I beſeech you to give yourſelf no "uneaſineſs. The ſoldiers call me their father; they ſay "that they had rather be governed by a man than a wo-"man. I take my walks alone about the ſtreets of Peterſ-"burg; if any one deſigned to do me harm, he would "have executed his purpoſe long ago: but I am continually "doing good on all occaſions that offer, and I truſt in the "protection of God alone; with that I have nothing to "fear."

paſſing the whole day in drinking and ſmoaking amidſt a company of baſe courtiers, who, for the moſt part, were eagerly ſeeking his ruin, and perfidiouſly applauding his fantaſtical humours and his moſt dangerous innovations.

His behaviour to his ſpouſe was equally inconſiſtent. At the very moment when he was doing homage to the ſuperiority of her mind, he would let ſlip ſome plain intimations of the indignation his wrongs had inſpired into his breaſt. In the moſt ſacred and pompous ceremonies of the ruſſian church, ſuch, for example, as the benediction of the waters *, he made her appear adorned

* The greek church has ſome ſimilarity with the latin in point of ceremonies, but exceeds it, which is not ſaying a little, in ſuperſtitious rites. Among others, for example, annually on the 6th of January, Twelfth-day, as it is called with us, a ſingular feaſt is ſolemnized, denominated by the Ruſſians the bleſſing of the waters. For this ceremony at St. Peterſburg, a ſort of wooden chapel or tabernacle, painted green and ſtuck about with boughs of fir, is conſtructed on the ice of the Neva, between the Admiralty and the imperial palace. This little building is covered with a dome, reſting on eight ſmall columns, on which ſtands the figure of John the baptiſt with the croſs in his hand, amidſt bulruſhes; the inſide of the edifice being decorated with paintings repreſenting the baptiſm of Jeſus, his transfiguration, and other tranſactions of his life. From the centre of the dome is ſuſpended by a chain a monſtrous large holy-ghoſt of

adorned with all the marks of imperial dignity, while he was content to follow her train as a

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of wood over the aperture in the ice, round which are ſpread rich carpets. This little temple is entirely ſurrounded with paliſadoes, which are alſo ornamented with fir-branches: the ſpace within being likewiſe covered with carpets. A ſort of gallery round the building communicates with a window of the palace, from which the imperial family come forth to attend the ceremony. (For ſeveral years paſt the empreſs and her grandchildren only ſaw the ſolemnity from the windows of the palace.) The ceremony begins immediately when the regiments of guards have taken their ſtation on the river. Then the archbiſhop appears amid the ſound of church bells and the firing of the cannon of the fortreſs, and proceeds along the carpets, attended by his train of biſhops and other eccleſiaſtics, into this little church, where, ſtanding at the hole in the ice, he dips his crucifix three times in the water, at the ſame time repeating prayers, and concludes with a particular one to the great ſaint Nicholas; which done, the water is accounted bleſſed. The prelate then ſprinkles with it all the ſurrounding multitude, and the banners of all the regiments which are at that time in Peterſburg. The conſecration ended, he retires; and now the people preſs in crowds to the hole in the ice, where they drink it with pious avidity: mothers, notwithſtanding the cold, dip their naked babes in the ſtream, and men and women pour it on their heads; every one holds it a duty to take home a veſſel of the water, in order to purify their houſes, and for the cure of certain diſeaſes, for which it is affirmed to be a powerful ſpecific. During which four popes, one at each corner of the aperture, chant a ſort of litany for the occaſion.

ſimple colonel, as if he intended to ſhew to his people, that ſhe was born to reign, and he to obey. Even at court he would often leave her to execute the whole of the repreſentation; while he, dreſſed in the uniform of his regiment, reſpectfully came and repreſented to her his officers, whom he called his comrades. Peter the great had formerly done the like with Catharine I. and his miniſter Mentchikoff: but Peter the great knew how, whenever he had occaſion to diſplay the emperor, to employ means which Peter III. had not.

In the mean time the apparent favour of the empreſs was not of long duration. No ſooner did the tzar think himſelf well ſettled on the throne, than he no longer concealed his indifference, and ſometimes even made her experience it in a very humiliating manner. At the time of the celebration of the peace that had juſt been ſigned with the king of Pruſſia, Peter, who, during the exhibition of the fireworks, was ſeated by the ſide of Catharine, on ſeeing the counteſs Vorontzoff, his miſtreſs, paſs by, called to her, and made her ſit down beſide him: Catharine immediately retired, without any endeavour to detain her being vouchſafed on the part of her huſband.

The ſame evening, at ſupper, he drank the health of prince George of Holſtein; at which

all the company roſe up, excepting Catharine, who pretended to have got a hurt in her foot. Peter, irritated that the empreſs ſhould affect to fail in the reſpect which ſhe owed to her uncle, launched at her an epithet, which, whether or not ſhe deſerved, the emperor ought to have ſpared his ſpouſe. Catharine was ſo mortified that ſhe could not refrain from weeping, and ſpoke for ſome time, in a low voice, of this affront to her chamberlain Stroganoff *, whom ſhe had again the vexation to ſee almoſt immediately put under arreſt. But her tears intereſted the ſpectators, as the harſhneſs of Peter excited their indignation.

It was by ſcenes of this nature that the empreſs felt her hopes revive. She ſaw that ſhe ſhould ſoon get the better of the tzar, by oppoſing to his ſlights and imprudent rudeneſs, great circumſpection and the arts of addreſs. She now made it her ſole employment to gain thoſe hearts which he was loſing. Inſtructed from her infancy in the arts of diſſimulation, it was not difficult for her to affect, in the ſight of the multitude, ſentiments the moſt foreign to her mind. The pupil of the philoſophers now put on the air of a bigot: ſhe aſſiduouſly repaired

* Count Stroganoff paſſed for one of the favourites of Catharine.

every day to the churches of Peterſburg, praying with all the ſemblance of a ſincere and fervent devotion, punctual in the moſt ſuperſtitious practices of the greek religion, accoſting the poor with benignity, and treating the popes with reverence; who failed not afterwards to go proclaiming her praiſes from houſe to houſe.

In the apartments of the palace, the way of life purſued by this married couple was not leſs different. While Peter III. was ſhut up with the counteſs Vorontzoff, Mr. Keith, ſome pruſſian officers, and others of his favourites; while he was ſo far forgetful of his rank as to live familiarly with buffoons, and to make them at times ſit at table with him *, the empreſs kept her court with ſuch a mixture of dignity and affability as charmed all thoſe that approached her; ſhe particularly made it her ſtudy to attract to her ſuch perſons as, by their reputation, their courage, or their intrigues, might become uſeful to her.

By theſe acts of imprudence the tzar diſpleaſed not only the greater part of the Ruſſians, but al-

* One evening among others, after the play, at the counteſs Nariſhkin's, he cauſed the comedians to ſit down promiſcuouſly with the ladies and grandees of the court, and ſeated beſide him a dancer, whom he called his little wife.

moſt

moſt all the agents from the foreign courts. The miniſter of Denmark never appeared before him, but he was ſure to meet with ſome diſagreeable behaviour; that of Auſtria was always accoſted with coolneſs; and even the ambaſſador of France *, who had enjoyed ſuch high conſideration during the late reign, was preſently made to perceive that the intentions of Peter III. were not more favourable towards the court of Verſailles than to that of Vienna †.

Peter

* It was M. de Breteuil, who ſucceeded M. de l'Hôpital. When Peter concluded a treaty of peace and amity with Frederic, there was certainly nothing blameable in his enthuſiaſtical attachment to one of the moſt extraordinary characters of modern hiſtory; only in many diſplays of this attachment and admiration we do not diſcern the autocratic monarch of a mighty empire. If Peter, on one hand, put a ſtop to the ſlaughter and ravages of war, and in their ſtead reſtored tranquillity and the bleſſings of peace; yet, on the other, he only began with more violence, and contrary to the advice of all experienced perſons, his long concerted hoſtilities againſt Denmark, which, according to his plan, were to proceed to a real war of extermination, as it was his determination to drive Frederic V. out of all his european territories, and confine him to the dominion of Tranquebar.

† Peter gave proofs of this on every occaſion. When the model of the new rubles was ſhewn him for his approbation, perceiving that the artiſt had repreſented him with a large wig of monſtrous curls flowing down his ſhoulders, he

Peter III. had already come to the reſolution of putting an end to hoſtilities againſt Frederic; and,

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he exclaimed that he would not have ſuch a head-dreſs as that; it would make him look like the king of France. Supping one evening with the grand chancellor Woronzoff, where the foreign miniſters were invited, the tzar kept inceſſantly talking of the king of Pruſſia all ſupper-time. He was acquainted with all his campaigns, even to the minuteſt particulars. He harangued upon them with delight, always accompanying the encomiums he laviſhed on his hero with ſarcaſtical and ironical invectives againſt his enemies. He roſe from table after having drank greatly too much; then the punch that he took, and the tobacco that he ſmoaked, completed his intoxication. A party at cards was propoſed; the emperor accepted it, and was one of the firſt who loſt againſt the french ambaſſador. Then, ſeeing the ſpaniſh miniſter, M. d'Almodovar, who had taken his place, he went up to the former and ſaid in his ear, alluding to the war againſt the Engliſh: "Spain will loſe."—"I think not," returned the Frenchman; "we are on her "ſide, and ſhe has ſhewn herſelf formidable even when "alone."—The emperor, with a ſhrug and a ſneering ſmile, only ſaid: "Ah! ah!"—"However, ſir," anſwered the ambaſſador gravely, "France and Spain are very eaſy "on that ſcore: and if they retain the alliance of your "majeſty, they will be equally ſo in regard to the war on "the Continent and with Germany."—Peter pauſed for a moment, and then anſwered in a high tone of voice: "I "will have peace."—"We wiſh for it as much as your "majeſty," replied the ambaſſador; "but we would have

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and, being of a character little fitted to wait the ſlow produce of a joint negotiation, gave way to his ardent deſires for peace, and to the ſentiments of that extravagant admiration which he had conceived for the king of Pruſſia. A ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities was concluded between them on the 16th of March; and it was followed not long after* by a treaty of peace and alliance. Nothing was ſtipulated by the tzar in favour of his former confederates, whom he entirely abandoned. He even agreed to join his troops to thoſe of the king of Pruſſia to act againſt them. In a little time a ruſſian army was ſeen in conjunction with one of Pruſſia, to drive out of Sileſia thoſe Auſtrians who had been a few months before brought into that province by the ruſſian arms.

This was a miraculous revolution. Fortune, who had ſo long abandoned the king of Pruſſia to his genius, after having perſecuted him for near five years, and overpowered him with the

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" it ſafe, honourable, and in concert with our allies."— " Juſt as you pleaſe," exclaimed the tzar: " for me, I " will have peace: do afterwards as you think proper." This anecdote was related by M. de Breteuil himſelf; but it does not prove, it ſhould ſeem, that the tzar was quite ſo drunk as that miniſter pretended.

* May the 5th.

whole

whole weight of her anger, at length made amends by a ſudden turn, and did for him, at one ſtroke, the only thing by which he could poſſibly be ſaved.

Sweden, who after ſhe recovered her liberty, loſt her political importance, and for a long time acted entirely under the direction of ruſſian councils, followed, on this, as on other occaſions, the example of the court of Peterſburg, and ſigned a treaty of peace with the king of Pruſſia on the 22d of May.

In order to account for whatever was not the reſult of mere perſonal character in this extraordinary revolution of politics in Ruſſia, it will be neceſſary to remind the reader, that the tzar Peter the Third was duke of Holſtein; and that the dukes of Holſtein had pretenſions to the duchy of Sleſwick. Theſe pretenſions were compromiſed by a treaty in 1732. But as the ceſſion made by the houſe of Holſtein in this treaty was the effect of neceſſity, it had been always apprehended that ſhe would make uſe of the firſt ſafe opportunity of reclaiming her ancient rights. The tzar ſeized eagerly on the great one, which the poſſeſſion of the whole ruſſian power afforded him, and he reſolved to enter into an immediate war for this object, to which his predilection for his native country gave in his eyes a far greater importance

portance than to all the conqueſts of his predeceſſor. As long as this war with the king of Pruſſia ſubſiſted, it was impoſſible that his deſigns againſt Denmark could be proſecuted with any hope of ſucceſs. Wholly indifferent therefore to all others, and paſſionately fond of this object, as ſoon as he came to the throne, without any diſpute or negotiation, he offered the king of Pruſſia, in his great diſtreſs, every thing he could have hoped from a ſeries of victories, and whilſt he joined his arms to thoſe of that monarch in Sileſia, he cauſed an army to march towards Holſtein.

Accordingly, ſome few days afterwards, he diſpatched his orders to general count Chernicheff, who commanded the 30,000 ruſſian auxiliaries in the auſtrian army, which had taken up their winter-quarters in Moravia, to march them into Poland through Sileſia. A ſecond meſſenger followed cloſe at the heels of the former, with orders to the ſame general to act with his troops in concert with thoſe of the king of Pruſſia, and to conform in all things to the pleaſure of that monarch. The tzar did not even deign to communicate theſe meaſures either to the courts of Vienna and Verſailles, nor to the miniſters from thoſe courts, who were then reſident at Peterſburg. The firſt intimation they had of them was through the gazettes.

Some

Some time afterwards, the ruſſian ambaſſador at Vienna declared to prince Kaunitz, "that the "tzar, finding the method of a congreſs too "tardy, had preferred a direct negotiation with "the king of Pruſſia; that he was on the eve of "making a peace with that monarch; that he "adviſed the court of Vienna to imitate his ex-"ample; and that it would be aſtoniſhing if it "ſhould take in ill part what he had done, ſince "the war of Germany was not only foreign to "him, and prejudicial to himſelf, but burden-"ſome to his people."

This declaration was immediately followed up by the treaty which he concluded May 5, 1762: and was dictated by the baron de Goltz, ſent by the king of Pruſſia to St. Peterſburg in quality of miniſter plenipotentiary, and Mr. Keith, the engliſh ambaſſador.

Peter III. cauſed the peace to be celebrated with the greateſt magnificence. The rejoicings laſted ſeveral days; he himſelf was preſent at them, dreſſed in a pruſſian uniform, decorated with the order of the black eagle which had been ſent him by Frederic: and as if he had been reſolved to ſeize the opportunity afforded by theſe feſtivities, for inflicting a greater inſult on Auſtria, he cauſed the ambaſſador* from Maria Thereſa

* The count de Merci, who was afterwards ambaſſador in France.

to

to be invited; but that miniſter indignantly rejected the invitation.

During all the time that theſe entertainments laſted, ſcarcely a day paſſed that Peter did not finiſh by drinking to exceſs, and his exceſſes were always followed by ſome dangerous indiſcretion. One evening, according to cuſtom, he turned the converſation on Frederic; then, fixing the eyes of the councillor of ſtate Volkoff, he ſuddenly exclaimed: "You muſt agree that "he is a magician, a ſorcerer, that king of "Pruſſia! He knew all our plans for the "campaign, as ſoon as we had reſolved on "them." Volkoff reddened with embarraſſment. Peter ſaid to him, "Why that embarraſſment? "you have no longer any need to fear Siberia. "Is it not true, that, notwithſtanding the dread "you had of it, you communicated to me all the "plans and projects that were reſolved on in the "council, and that I ſent them off to his majeſty "the king*?"

Towards the termination of the rejoicings that were made for celebrating the peace between Ruſſia and Pruſſia, the tzar, who gueſſed how much the ambaſſador of Vienna muſt be incenſed, and doubtleſs was inclined more deeply

* It was thus he ſtyled Frederic II. unleſs when he called him his preceptor, his friend, his brother.

to

to affront him, ſent him word, "that, ſince the "empreſs-queen alone threw obſtacles in the "way of a general pacification, from a ſpirit of "unbounded ambition, and the unjuſt deſire of "recovering Sileſia and the county of Glatz, ſo "ſolemnly ceded to Pruſſia, he had reſolved to "ſend 20,000 men more into Germany, in order "to force Maria Thereſa to relinquiſh her ille-"gitimate pretenſions."

Every thing ſeemed to announce that this would not end in an empty menace. The king of Pruſſia already began to flatter himſelf that freſh ſuccours would ſoon be added to the Ruſſians, who were marching under his banners; and ſuch, in fact, were the intentions of the tzar. But a ſudden cataſtrophe fruſtrated the expectations of Frederic, and wrought a change in the court of Ruſſia.

In the midſt of theſe warlike preparations, of theſe reformations undertaken, but ſeldom effected, and of theſe uſeleſs feſtivities, Peter III. was not unmindful of the counteſs Vorontzoff; he allowed her, on the contrary, daily to gain over him additional influence. This young woman, not ſhrewd, but ſtupidly proud, and directed by an ambitious and crafty father, found means to induce the tzar, one while by flattering, at another by ſcolding, and ſometimes by carrying

ing her frowardneſs ſo far as to dare to beat him, to renew the promiſe he had made, while yet only grand duke, that he would marry her, and place her in the room of Catharine on the throne of Ruſſia.

Proud of this hope, ſhe had the imprudence to boaſt of it, and this imprudence brought on her ruin. While her father and ſome of the courtiers who were devoted to him, were labouring at paving her way to the throne, the jealouſies without number that her preſent influence and her apparently approaching grandeur had created, the enemies of the tzar and the partiſans of the empreſs, were all ſtriving, as if by conſent, to find means for excluding her from it.

Peter III. not a whit leſs indiſcreet than the counteſs Vorontzoff, ſeemed to authoriſe by his conduct the reports that ſhe ſpread, and he even no longer ſeemed to take any pains to conceal his intention to repudiate Catharine, and to declare the illegitimacy of Paul Petrovitch. However, he had reſolved to cover this act of deſpotiſm with an appearance of juſtice; fondly imagining, that, on publiſhing to the world the proofs of the infidelities of Catharine, his conduct would meet the approbation of all his ſubjects and the reſt of Europe.

The counteſs Vorontzoff, informed by the aged ſenator her father of the firſt amours of the empreſs with Soltikoff, had long ſince taken care that the tzar ſhould have no reaſon to complain that ſhe kept the ſecret from him: ſhe apprized him of it; and this it was that prevailed on the prince to reſolve on declaring the illegitimacy and the exheridation of his ſon. In conſequence of this determination, he recalled Soltikoff from Hamburgh, where he had conſtantly reſided ſince Elizabeth had appointed him her miniſter. He loaded him with careſſes and benefits, and put every ſtratagem in practice to draw from him the authentic avowal of the criminal commerce he had formerly held with Catharine. It was viſible to all the court, that Soltikoff, incited by the hope of glorious rewards, or intimidated by the dread of ſerious chaſtiſements, would do whatever the tzar deſired, and the tzar himſelf was not deceived in his expectations that his worthy chamberlain would favour his inclinations. He was now only reſtrained by the difficulty in the choice of a ſucceſſor.

Although this prince lived openly with the counteſs Vorontzoff, though he held frequent aſſignations with a handſome ſtage-dancer of Peterſburg, though he gave reaſon to think that he

he had various adventures of gallantry, he was not perhaps therefore the fitter for obtaining an heir. By an operation in a ſmall degree ſimilar to that of the judaical rite, which he had undergone in the firſt years of his marriage, he was freed from an obſtacle without procuring greater means. Nature had inſpired him with an ardent paſſion for women; his deſires were impetuous, but all ſeemed to prove that his efforts were doomed to be fruitleſs. Thinking himſelf well aſſured of his misfortune, and, wiſhing notwithſtanding to raiſe ſome one to the place of Paul Petrovitch, he conceived all at once a very ſingular project. He determined to adopt prince Ivan, who had been dethroned by Elizabeth, to declare him his ſucceſſor, and to unite him in marriage with the young princeſs of Holſtein-Beck, who was then at St. Peterſburg, and whom he cheriſhed as his daughter.

Peter III. then with a very few attendants, went privately to the fortreſs of Schluſſelburg, in the deſign of making a viſit to Ivan*, without diſcovering

* It has already been ſeen that Ivan III. was ſtill in his cradle when the revolution that placed Elizabeth on the throne, in 1741, occaſioned him to be ſhut up, with the regent Anne, his mother and all his family, in the fortreſs of Schluſſelburg. In the firſt moments of that revolution, the ſoldiers who entered the apartment of the

diſcovering himſelf to him, in order that he might form a judgment whether he was worthy of the elevated ſtation he intended to give him.

young emperor found him aſleep, and waited reſpectfully till he ſhould awake, to carry him to Elizabeth. That princeſs took him up in her arms and fondly careſſed him; when, perceiving him to ſmile at the ſhouts of "Hourra Eliza-"veta!" which reſounded from the gates of the palace, ſhe could not reſtrain her pity, ſaying: "Unhappy child! thou "knoweſt not, alas! that they are the cries of joy of thoſe "that hurl thee from the throne!" From Schluſſelburg Ivan was tranſported, together with his family, to the fortreſs of Riga, where they remained 18 months. From Riga they were conveyed to Dunamunde, and afterwards to Oranienburg, a town built by Mentchikoff, in the cold province of Voronetch. There Ivan was ſeparated from his family, who were tranſported to Kolmogor. A monk who had acceſs to the priſon where Ivan was detained, carried him off from Oranienburg, in the deſign to conduct him to Germany: but he was arreſted at Smolenſk. Ivan was then ſhut up in a monaſtery, ſituate in the Valdai, not far from the road that leads from St. Peterſburg to Moſco. The empreſs Elizabeth having a deſire to ſee him, in 1756, cauſed him to be brought back to Schluſſelburg, where he had been put immediately on his dethronement. He was led very ſecretly to St. Peterſburg, in the houſe of Peter Schuvaloff, where Elizabeth had a pretty long converſation with him, but without making herſelf known to him. Ivan was then about 16: he was of a good height, of an intereſting figure, with fine hair, and a voice of much ſweetneſs. Elizabeth ſhed many tears as ſhe talked with him: but that did not ſave Ivan from being led back to his diſmal dungeon, where Peter III. ſix years after went to ſee him.

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The emperor, on this expedition, was only attended by count Leof Alexandrevitch Nariſhkin, his grand ecuyer, baron Ungern-Sternberg, one of his general aides-de-camp, baron Korff, maſter of the police at St. Peterſburg, and the counſellor of ſtate Volkoff. He was himſelf furniſhed with an order ſigned in his own hand, in which he enjoined the commandant to give the bearers free leave to walk about the whole fortreſs, without even excepting the place where Ivan was confined, and to leave them to converſe alone with that prince. Peter moreover took care to conceal the enſigns of his dignity, and to recommend Leof Nariſhkin, who was tall and of a portly figure, to act ſo as that he ſhould be taken for the emperor. But Ivan was not thus deceived. After having contemplated for ſome time the ſtrangers that entered his cell, he threw himſelf all at once at the feet of the tzar. "Tzar!" ſaid he, "you are the maſter here. "I ſhall not importune you by a long petition; "but mitigate the ſeverity of my lot. I have "been languiſhing for a number of years in this "gloomy dungeon. The only favour I entreat "you to grant, is, that I may be permitted, "from time to time, to breathe a freer air." Peter was extremely affected at theſe words: "Riſe, prince!" ſaid he to Ivan; and, gently

ſlapping his ſhoulder; "be under no uneaſineſs "for the future. I will employ all the means in "my power to render your ſituation more tole-"rable.—But tell me, prince, have you any re-"collection of the misfortunes you have ex-"perienced from your earlier youth?"—"I "have ſcarcely any idea of thoſe that befell "my infancy," replied Ivan; "but, from the "moment that I began to feel my miſery, I "have never ceaſed from mingling my tears "with thoſe of my father and my mother, who "were miſerable ſolely becauſe of me: and my "greateſt diſtreſs proceeds from the thoughts of "the ill treatment they received, as we were "tranſported from one fortreſs to another."—"Hah! whence came that ill treatment?" interrogated the tzar. "From the officers who "conducted us, and who were almoſt always the "moſt inhuman of mankind," returned Ivan. "Do you recollect the names of thoſe officers?" ſaid Peter.—"Alas!" replied the young prince, "we were not very curious to learn them. "We were content to return thanks to heaven "on our bended knees, when theſe monſters "were relieved by officers of a leſs ſavage diſpo-"ſition."—"What!" ſaid the emperor, "you "never fell into the hands of ſuch as had any "humanity?"—"Only one deſerved to be diſ-

"tinguiſhed

" tinguiſhed from that pack of tigers," anſwered Ivan. " He gained our eſteem, and we " lamented the loſs of him. His good nature, " his generous attentions will never depart from " my remembrance."—" And you know not " the name of that worthy man?" eagerly aſked the tzar.—" Oh, as to him, I remember him " very well," replied Ivan: " he was called " Korff."

This ſame baron Korff, as we have already ſeen, was one of thoſe who accompanied Peter. He melted into tears as he heard theſe particulars; and the tzar, who was no leſs affected than him, took him by the arm, and ſaid in a broken voice: " Baron, you ſee how a good action is " never loſt!"

That he might have time to recover from his emotion, Peter went out with Korff, Nariſhkin, and Volkoff, leaving baron Ungern-Sternberg alone with Ivan. " How then did you come " hither, prince?" ſaid Ungern-Sternberg. " Who," returned Ivan, " can be guarded and " ſecured againſt razboïniks*? One day, an " order from I know not who was brought to the " priſon where I was with my parents. The " razboïniks fell upon my family, and tore me " from the only perſons I knew in the world, and

* Robbers.

" who alone had gained my affection and my con-
" fidence: I mean my father and my mother, and
" my brothers and my ſiſters. Oh how I did cry!
" and how they themſelves, if they are yet alive,
" muſt lament the death of their ſon and their
" brother!"—" What do you think will be the
" lot of our new emperor?" aſked the baron.
" If I may judge from my idea of the Ruſſians,
" it will not be more happy than mine. My
" father and my mother have often repeated to
" me, that foreign princes will always be hated
" and dethroned by the treacherous and haughty
" Ruſſians."

The tzar now re-entered, with Nariſhkin, Korff, Volkoff, and accompanied this time by the commandant, to whom he ſaid, in the preſence of Ivan: " I order you to give the prince from
" this moment, all the ſuccours he ſhall aſk; and
" to allow him at all times to walk and divert
" himſelf within the precincts of the fortreſs. I
" will ſend you written orders containing more
" particulars, by which you are henceforward to
" regulate your conduct in regard to his ſacred
" perſon."

On coming out of Ivan's chamber, the emperor went over the inſide of the fortreſs*; and, after

* The fortreſs of Schluſſelburg, while in the poſſeſſion of the Swedes called Nœteborg, occupies a ſmall iſland, ſituate juſt

after having examined a ſpot that ſeemed to him proper for the conſtruction of an edifice for conveniently lodging the priſoner, he gave orders to the commandant to ſet the proper workmen about it, and added: "Let it run in a ſtraight line "from one wall to the other of this angle of the "fort, ſo as to form nine rooms in front, and "the reſt of the ſpace, to the extremity of the "angle, may be made into a little garden, "with which he may amuſe himſelf in the "air, and find ſome alleviation of the ſeverity "of his confinement. When the building ſhall "be finiſhed, I will come myſelf and put the "prince in poſſeſſion."

Probably the tzar only ſpoke in this manner to the commandant of Schluſſelburg as a blind, to prevent him from ſurmiſing his real intentions; for otherwiſe what need had he to give orders for the conſtruction of a new priſon for him to whom he meant to give the throne? Beſides, this priſon had a quite different object. It is not

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juſt where the Neva flows out of the lake Ladoga, in 59° 50' N. L. It is in the antique form, with high walls and vaulted ramparts, and being uſed for the confinement of ſtate-priſoners, is only inhabited by the garriſon. Schluſſel in german ſignifies *a key*. Its preſent name was given it by Peter I. as being the key to his new city.

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to be doubted that it was Catharine for whom it was deſigned by her huſband *.

Before he quitted Schluſſelburg, Peter went once more into the prince's dungeon; after this, he returned to St. Peterſburg; where no one entertained a ſuſpicion of the extraordinary interview he had juſt had, and much leſs of what he was meditating in favour of Ivan.

When the prince of Holſtein, the emperor's uncle, was informed of the viſit this monarch had made to Ivan, he adviſed him to ſend that unfortunate prince into Germany, together with duke Anthony of Brunſwic, his father, and the reſt of the family. Peter, to avoid raiſing any ſuſpicion of his plan in the mind of his uncle, pretended to approve his advice, but for the preſent he reſted ſatisfied with cauſing Ivan

* Though it is currently taken for granted, that it was the emperor's plan to cauſe his wife to be arreſted, and to be ſhut up in Schluſſelburg, yet it is very far from being ſatisfactorily made out, even by the evidence ariſing from this new houſe erected in the fortreſs, deſigned, it is ſaid, for the empreſs. It is thought by numbers of people, that it was really intended for prince Ivan, inſtead of the diſmal and inconvenient hole in which he was lodged. Peter, by having him removed to Kexholm, brought him more within his reach, in order perhaps to produce him whenever occaſion might offer. This may eaſily be ſuppoſed an after-thought.

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to be conveyed to the fortreſs of Kexholm, built on a little iſle in the Ladoga lake, and much nearer to the reſidence than Schluſſelburg. It is impoſſible on this occaſion to forbear remarking that a ſort of adverſe fate ſeemed every where to purſue the unfortunate Ivan; for, as he was rowed from Schluſſelburg, to get on board the galleot that was to convey him to Kexholm, the ſkiff in which he was, narrowly eſcaped being loſt, by one of the tempeſts that ſuddenly riſe in ſummer, and dangerouſly agitate that ſtormy, and, in many places, unfathomable lake *.

In the mean time the indiſcretions of the tzar revived from day to day the hopes of Catharine; and the deſigns he had formed againſt her, a part whereof were but too well known, emboldened

* To ſecure the barks coming with goods from the Volkoff acroſs the Ladoga, from the dangerous ſtorms and whirlpools of this boiſterous lake, was the view of Peter I. in digging the Ladoga canal; and this deſign is fully attained. This canal, which Peter began in 1719, and which the empreſs Anne finiſhed by count Munich in 1730, follows, through a moraſs, the ſouthern ſhore of the Ladoga, and, 10 fathom broad, and from 7 to 10 feet deep, extends its courſe of 104 verſts, to Schluſſelburg, where it enters the left bank of the Neva. The Ladoga receives the waters of the rivers Rœbona, Lava, Schaldica, Naſia, and Lipka, to which the only outlet is the Neva.

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her to run all hazards in order to prevent them. Diſmiſſed to Peterhof, and lodged in one of the apartments the moſt retired, and leaſt apparent of the palace, ſhe paſſed her days in meditating the project for precipitating her huſband from the throne, and her evenings in the company of a peculiar intimate, whom ſhe had made the moſt intrepid of the conſpirators.

The power of the tzars, though abſolute and uncontrollable in its exerciſe, is extremely weak in its foundation. There is not perhaps in Europe a government which depends ſo much on the good-will and affection of thoſe that are governed, and which requires a greater degree of vigilance and a ſteadier hand. The regular ſucceſſion which has been ſo often broken, and the great change of manners, which in leſs than a century has been introduced, have left in Ruſſia a weakneſs amidſt all the appearance of ſtrength, and a great facility to ſudden and dangerous revolutions.

Peter III. paid little attention to thoſe difficulties, which to him were the greater, as he was a foreigner born. They were augmented by the ſuperior and invidious regard he ſeemed to pay to foreign intereſts, and foreign perſons.

Since

Since the removal of count Poniatofsky, though the empreſs had the addreſs to appear, in the eyes of the moſt attentive of the courtiers, faithful to her attachment to him, yet in the intimacy of this friend ſhe found the means of compenſating his abſence. Thus, to encourage the miſtake of her prying obſervers, ſhe had the twofold motive of intereſting them in behalf of a diſappointed paſſion, and of averting their looks from her obſcurer indulgences. Her very friends were deceived. M. de Breteuil, who imagined himſelf a perſon of great diſcernment, and that he was in the entire confidence of Catharine, thought her ſo conſtant to Poniatofſky, that he degraded his quality of ambaſſador ſo far as to deliver into her hand all the letters from the count, and to forward her anſwers. Princeſs Daſhkoff herſelf was ignorant that ſhe had any other love than that of ſtudy and of Poniatofsky; and ſhe had long been plotting in concert with Orloff, without once ſuſpecting that Orloff was even known to the empreſs. In ſhort, the only perſon that was in the ſecret, and was the manager of the piece, was one of her women, named Catharine Ivanovna, the moſt ingenious of confidantes, and the leaſt ſcrupulous of duennas. She behaved with ſo much addreſs, that thoſe whom ſhe preſented to Catharine

enjoyed almoſt always the favours of that princeſs, without knowing who ſhe was*.

Gregory Orloff poſſeſſed neither the advantages of birth nor thoſe of education; but he had received from nature what are often found more uſeful, courage and beauty. He had a poſt in the artillery, while his two brothers were only common ſoldiers in the regiments of guards†. Count Peter Schuvaloff, grand maſter of the artillery, a vain and pompous man, was deſirous of having the handſomeſt of his officers for aide-de-camp, and he ſelected Gregory Orloff. He had alſo for his miſtreſs one of the moſt illuſ-

* M. de Rulhiere tells us it was by chance that "Orloff deſcried, in the pomp of a public ceremony, the "miſtreſs whom he adored." But it is very difficult to believe that the aide-de-camp of count Peter Schuvaloff ſhould not know the grand ducheſs, as Peter Schuvaloff went frequently to court, and as in Ruſſia an aide-de-camp always attends his general.

† Alexius and Vladimir. The Orloffs were five brothers: Gregory, the favourite; Alexius, ſince become admiral, who, in the war againſt the Turks, in 1768, commanded the Ruſſian fleet in the Archipelago, was latterly at Moſco, led thither on account of ſome affairs of trade, having large tanneries on his eſtate; but was driven out one that capital by an order from Paul Petrovitch; Vladimir, made ſenator after the revolution; Feodor, chamberlain; and Ivan, likewiſe chamberlain, but who came very rarely to court.

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trious and the handſomeſt women of the court, the princeſs Kourakin, who was not long in giving the aide-de-camp to underſtand that ſhe preferred him to his general. But unfortunately the general, who ſurpriſed them together, forbad Orloff any more to appear in his preſence, and threatened to exert all his intereſt to get him baniſhed to Siberia. This adventure made a noiſe: it was for a time the ſubject of converſation both in town and country; and the ſtory found its way even into the retreat in which Catharine was forced to do penance. Curioſity, pity perhaps, led her to wiſh for an acquaintance with the young officer whoſe diſaſter was the topic of public diſcourſe. Ivanovna, with the cuſtomary precautions, procured her a ſight of him; and Orloff, at firſt unable to gueſs who the fair-one might be that took ſuch concern in his lot, found her to poſſeſs more charms and a fonder affection than the princeſs Kourakin. This firſt and myſterious converſation was ſucceeded by ſeveral interviews, in which Catharine was only obliging; but when ſhe thought herſelf well aſſured of the boldneſs and the diſcretion of her new acquaintance, ſhe unveiled to him her ambitious deſigns. Orloff now entered into a conſpiracy with her, in which he ſhortly after engaged his brothers, his companion Bibikoff,

lieutenant

lieutenant Paſſik, with other officers; by means of whom he won over ſome companies of guards, but without imparting to them his real deſign.

Catharine was as yet but grand ducheſs when her connection with Orloff began; and her correſpondence with him was not the only one that ſhe carried on with no leſs art than ſucceſs. Several other officers, ſeveral courtiers even participated in her favours; but as ſhe did not expect to find in them the devotedneſs and the genius that was neceſſary to her, ſhe was ſatisfied with making them her friends, and never diſcloſed her ſecret to them. Lieutenant-general Villebois* was one of thoſe whom that princeſs had diſtinguiſhed; and when he obtained the command of the artillery, on the death of the general that had diſplaced Orloff, ſhe induced him to give the latter the place of captain-treaſurer of his corps. Villebois did as he was requeſted by Catharine, without entertaining the ſmalleſt ſuſpicion that he was ſerving a rival preferred to himſelf.

Being ſeated on the throne, Catharine continued not leſs the inviſible and powerful inſtigatrix of the faction of the great, the remainder of thoſe conſpirators at the head of whom Beſ-

* An officer of conſiderable merit, ſon of a french refugee.

tucheff

tucheff and the Schuvaloffs had ſucceſſively appeared, and whereof the hetman Kurilli Razumoffſky, the prince Volkonſky, nephew of the exiled Beſtucheff, and major-general of the guards, together with count Panin, were the moſt powerful ſupports.

In a word, ſhe had been able to form a third conſpiracy, contrived by the young princeſs Daſhkoff*, who always appeared, if not the moſt formidable, at leaſt the moſt active and impetuous. The accomplices in theſe three factions acted, moreover, without the knowledge of each other; and Catharine, who was the animating ſpirit of them all, ſeemed to have no ſhare whatever in the plot.

Princeſs Daſhkoff, lately returned from Moſco, where her huſband had kept her in a kind of exile, was prevented from concurring with the aims of her relations, who were deſirous of ſeeing her ſupplant her ſiſter in the favour of the tzar. That ſiſter was more ſuitable to the military taſte of Peter; and madame Daſhkoff would never be ſatisfied with a lover addicted only to drinking and the fumes of tobacco. She then formed an intimate connection with Catha-

* Princeſs Daſhkoff was born in the year 1744; conſequently this extraordinary woman was no more than 18 at the time of the revolution.

rine. They paſſed whole days together in the purſuits of literature and intrigue; and when the empreſs was diſmiſſed to Peterhof, princeſs Daſhkoff remained at Peterſburg, in order to ſerve her the better. She kept up a correſpondence with the empreſs, in which ſhe gave her the account of all that was paſſing at the court or in the city, and the means which ſhe ought to employ for preventing the deſigns of the tzar.

The attachment which princeſs Daſhkoff had vowed to Catharine was not the ſole motive for exciting her zeal. She was principally jealous of the glorious elevation that awaited her ſiſter; and neither the menaces of that ſiſter and of her father, nor the authority of the chancellor her uncle, in whoſe houſe ſhe had been brought up, were able to detach her from a party of which ſhe fondly made it her pride to be the prime mover. She had ſtudied the languages, and read many of the works of foreign authors, during her ſojourn at Moſco; which augmented her natural vanity, and taught her to deſpiſe the ignorance of the nation to which ſhe belonged. In the hopes of arriving at the ſlippery honour of directing a conſpiracy, ſhe openly braved the reſentment of her family; ſhe would have braved every danger, and even boldly looked death in the face.

Princeſs Daſhkoff had for ſome time kept about her a Piedmonteſe named Odart, whom penury and the hopes of making his fortune had brought to St. Peterſburg, and who had confirmed the taſte of that lady for french literature, by making her acquainted with the beſt writers of that nation. Odart was become the more valuable to the princeſs, as like her, with an aptitude at witty conceits, he poſſeſſed a turn for intrigue. She was ever extolling a man to whom ſhe thought herſelf indebted for her ſuperiority; and ſhe ſpoke of him to the empreſs in ſo advantageous a manner, as to induce that princeſs to deſire his attachment, and to give him the title of her private ſecretary.

It was not long ere this artful and inſinuating ſecretary became one of the confidents, not in the delicate connections of Catharine, but in her ambitious deſigns. A witneſs to the grievances of this princeſs, and foreboding the humiliation that awaited her, he eaſily perceived that there was no other way of eſcape, both for the preſent and the future, than by the fall of the emperor. But how to accompliſh this fall? How dare to attempt it? Odart ſaw all the difficulties, all the dangers with which it was attended; but he alſo knew, that if puniſhment and death were on one ſide, honours and riches preſented themſelves

ſelves on the other. Riches were the only deities of Odart: he was not long in determining his choice. He directly addreſſed himſelf to princeſs Daſhkoff; who, anticipating his bold and aſpiring ideas, was elated to exceſs at finding in a man, whom ſhe eſteemed for his talents, an accomplice in atchievements worthy of herſelf. What flattering hopes now intoxicated the minds of theſe vain and conceited conſpirators! What did they not promiſe themſelves, if they could but overthrow the ſovereign of one of the greateſt empires of the world? Odart expected that an immenſe fortune would be the reward of his ſervices: the princeſs imagined that the whole univerſe would be inceſſantly talking of her, and that her glory would aſcend far ſuperior to hers on whoſe head ſhe ſhould place the crown.

But the execution of ſo great a project demanded more efficacious inſtruments than vain imaginations and barren deſires. More was wanting than a woman of eighteen, and an adventurer whom nobody knew. Accordingly, when Odart and madame Daſhkoff had ſufficiently entertained themſelves with the magnificent recompences they hoped to obtain, they began to think of procuring ſoldiers, and money, which always propagates ſoldiers, and in Ruſſia more

more than elſewhere; and a chief, whoſe name and authority might command reſpect; and eſpecially a man who, accuſtomed to direct courtiers, to manage intrigues, was neither to be embarraſſed by obſtacles, not diſmayed by diſappointments. They then turned their eyes on the hetman Cyril Razumoffſky and count Nikita Ivanovitch Panin.

The great influence the hetman * had enjoyed during the reign of the empreſs Elizabeth, and the familiarity of Peter III. which he had had the art of preſerving, ſtill gave him conſiderable intereſt at court, and his immenſe riches, which enabled him to exerciſe continual liberalities towards a multitude of neceſſitous officers and ſoldiers, ſecured him a great number of friends among the troops. He filled one of the firſt poſts in the empire. He had no eſteem for Catharine, of whoſe talents he did not think much, and whoſe miſtakes he had ſeen; he knew the danger of attempting to dethrone the tzar, but was true in his adherence to his former party. When princeſs Daſhkoff communicated her deſigns to the hetman, he applauded the

* It has been imagined by ſome, that though the devout Elizabeth had married the grand-veneur Alexey Razumoffſky, brother of the hetman, the latter was nevertheleſs a lover of that empreſs.

ſcheme; and, without ſeeming to take a direct part in the buſineſs, aſſured her that, in caſe of need, ſhe might rely upon his concurrence. Therefore when Orloff came to him a few days after, in order to ſound his diſpoſition, he encouraged him to oppoſe the deſigns which the emperor was meditating againſt his conſort, telling him, at the ſame time, that they who ſhould defend that princeſs might depend upon his joining them. The hetman kept Orloff's ſecret as he had kept madame Daſhkoff's; and happy in the contemplation of two new riſing factions, he reſolved in his mind to ſupport them with all the power of his own.

Razumoffſky went yet farther. He aſſembled his friends on the ſpot; and without diſcloſing to them preciſely the twofold plan with which he had been entruſted, informed them that he knew with certainty, that among the troops a plot was hatching to dethrone the tzar; and if they neglected for a moment to declare themſelves its leaders, no other alternative would be left them than to ſubmit to become the forced inſtruments of the ſoldiers, or probably their victims. They then aſked him what he thought it neceſſary for them to do. "Join me at the inſtant the "conſpiracy breaks out," anſwered the hetman; "and I will take care to aſſign to each of you

"the

" the rank to which his birth, his fortune, and " his talents, give him a right to aſpire. The " blind intrepidity of ſome obſcure conſpirators " is now meditating to make the firſt blow. " Let us diligently watch the moment. If they " ſucceed, it is for our dexterity to reap the " fruits of their ſucceſs. Do you feel yourſelves " heartily reſolved to follow my example?" All ſwore they were; and the meeting broke up in expectation of the terrible event that flattered either their hatred or their ambition.

Thus certified of the aſſent of Razumoffſky, princeſs Daſhkoff and Odart now made it their buſineſs to bring over count Panin to their party; and Catharine earneſtly recommended it to them to let nothing eſcape them that might conduce to that end. She very well knew that if the name and the preſence of the hetman would be of great weight in the firſt openings of the revolt, the experience and the ability of Panin were ſtill more neceſſary for leading it to ſucceſs. It was he alone who, by the arts of ſoft inſinuation, could moderate the impetuous vanity of the princeſs Daſhkoff, excite, inflame the hatred and revenge of Razumoffſky, direct the covetous and ſervile ambition of Odart, and juſtify in appearance the conſpiracy by annexing to it the name of the young Paul Petrovitch, his pupil.

Princeſs Daſhkoff then commiſſioned Odart to propoſe to Panin his uniting with them; and Panin, prompted by a motive more dear than that of ſerving the empreſs and the grand duke, promiſed all that the princeſs deſired.

All this did not yet ſuffice madame Daſhkoff. She made direct application to prince Volkonſky, major-general of the guards. Volkonſky, well taught in the arts of intrigue by his kinſman Beſtucheff, and the inheritor of his hatred againſt Peter III.; Volkonſky, whoſe ambition was waiting for a change in the government, and who flattered himſelf with having ſhortly to act the principal part in the new faction, was not more difficult than Panin and Razumoffſky.

The archbiſhop of Novgorod was in like manner brought over. They had made themſelves ſure of this prelate even before they diſcloſed their deſign. The emperor had juſt recalled him from exile, to which he had ſome months before been condemned; but the prelate, more irritated at the ſeverity of the prince than affected by his clemency, waited only for an opportunity for ſignalizing his ſacred fury. Inventive ſuperſtition furniſhed him with numerous means. He knew the blind zeal of the Ruſſians for whatever belongs to the orthodox greek

greek religion; and the ſwarms of monks whom he had at command continued, under pretence of defending that religion, to diſſeminate in all hearts their hatred towards the prince who imprudently ſeemed to have declared himſelf its enemy.

The princeſs wanted alſo to ſecure a part of the troops. She knew ſeveral of the officers; theſe ſhe went to ſee under pretence of a mere viſit of politeneſs, and repaired to the barracks. There ſhe was met by Orloff. The explanation was not difficult to either. They immediately agreed; and, ſtill ignorant that Orloff was known to Catharine, the princeſs Daſhkoff found in him more than an accomplice.

Having apparently gained over only Gregory Orloff, the princeſs Daſhkoff flattered herſelf that ſhe had alſo won, by his means, the two brothers of that conſpirator, in perſon not leſs handſome, in temper not leſs bold than he, and of a bodily ſtrength and a brutality that rendered them formidable even to their friends. She added at the ſame time to her party many other officers or ſoldiers, whom Orloff had long been preparing for the rebellion; and when Odart thought to make the empreſs acquainted with all this ſucceſs, that diſſembling princeſs, whoſe lover brought her accounts of all in their nocturnal interviews, was careful neither to undeceive

ceive the ſecretary, nor affront the vanity of madame Daſhkoff.

One alone of all the factious ſtood in no need of artful prepoſſeſſion: it was that very Gleboff whom the tzar had raiſed from the loweſt forms of chicane to the important place of procureur-general to the ſenate*. The traitor, judging that his maſter would prove unable to reſiſt the united attacks of ſuch a hoſt of foes as were plotting his deſtruction, and adding cruelty to ingratitude, reſolved to contribute what he could to his ruin, in order to profit by the change it would produce. He accordingly looked about for a band of conſpirators with whom he might join; and having diſcovered that of Odart and princeſs Daſhkoff, he went to them with the offer of his ſervices.

The aim of all thoſe who ſeverally conſpired againſt Peter III. was to dethrone him; but they were not diſpoſed to ſet about it in the ſame manner. Panin, Razumoffſky, Orloff, thought it beſt to begin by ſeizing on his perſon at Peterhoff†, at the concluſion of one of thoſe orgies

* When, on his acceſſion to the throne, this prince demanded the reſignation of prince Schafuſkoï.

† The imperial palace of Peterhof, ſituate on the ſhore of the Cronſtadt gulf, is 25 verſts from St. Peterſburg, 8 verſts

orgies which could not fail to take place on his coming thither to celebrate the anniverſary of St. Peter and St. Paul. Panin, with ſome others of the conſpirators, had even been to gain an accurate knowledge of his apartment, in order the more eaſily to ſeize him on the fitteſt occaſion. Lieutenant Paſſick, the moſt ferocious, the moſt barbarous of his countrymen, inſiſted on aſſaſſinating him with a poignard in the midſt of his court: and in ſpite of all that

8 verſts below Strelna, and 8 verſts above Oranienbaum. Peter the great employed the architect Le Blond to build it, and to direct the laying out of the gardens; and its decorations have been increaſed by all the ſucceeding monarchs. Here annually a grand feſtival is given in honour of the patron ſaints of the imperial houſe, Peter and Paul. It conſiſts in maſquerades, to which from 3000 to 4000 perſons of both ſexes repair from Peterſburg, ſo that there is ſcarcely a horſe left in the town. At night the palace, with all the gardens, walks, terraces, canals, caſcades, and fountains, as well as the yachts that lie off the ſhore, are all grandly illuminated; which, eſpecially the vaſt caſcade, rolling its ſheets of water over the lamps, have a ſurpriſingly brilliant effect. In ſome of the apartments are refreſhments of every kind, acceſſible to all. About ten in the evening long tables are ſet out with a variety of choice diſhes in great abundance, at which as many as can find room promiſcuouſly take their places, and are ſumptuouſly entertained; as each is ſatisfied, he retires, and others ſucceed; for which purpoſe the tables are conſtantly repleniſhed by an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of diſhes.

Panin

Panin could do, by intreating and forbidding, he went, with one of his comrades, named Baſchkakoff, to lie in ambuſh two days ſucceſſively, waiting for this prince on one ſide of the ſmall wooden houſe inhabited by Peter while he was laying the foundations of Peterſburg: theſe two days Peter III. did not appear. But if the conſpirators differed about the means of dethroning the tzar, they were ſtill leſs agreed on the manner of ſupplying his place. Catharine aſpired to the ſole poſſeſſion of the ſupreme authority. Orloff and princeſs Daſhkoff ſupported this pretenſion. Panin, on the other hand, propoſed, that ſhe ſhould govern only under the name of regent; and that the title of emperor ſhould devolve on the young grand duke, Paul Petrovitch. The hetman Razumoffſky was of the ſame opinion.

At a long conference held by the principal conſpirators, in which theſe ſeveral propoſals were diſcuſſed, Panin had the courage to ſay to Catharine:—"I know, madam, what you "would have, and what you are able to do; "but I know alſo where your ambition ſhould "ſtop. You have repeated it a hundred times, "while as yet grand ducheſs, that you were only "deſirous of the title of mother of the emperor. "Does that title at preſent ſeem too diminutive

"to

" to you? You would now remove your ſon " from the throne of Ruſſia; but what right " have you to ſeat yourſelf upon it alone? Are " you of the blood of the tzars? Are you even " a native of the empire? Think you that this " ancient and warlike nation will acknowledge " for their ſovereign a counteſs of Anhalt? " Think you that they will not be inceſſantly " plotting in favour of the deſcendants of Peter " the great, while one of them lies languiſhing " at the foot of the throne, and others continue " to groan in dark and loathſome dungeons? " Ah, madam, give up your pretenſions to what " you can never obtain. Think it your greateſt " happineſs to be able to eſcape the extreme " danger that preſſes upon you; and that the " only means of juſtifying our violent under- " taking, is to convince the world that your " ſon is, more than yourſelf, the object of your " concern."

The conſpirators, ſtruck with the firmneſs and propriety of this diſcourſe, for a time remained mute. Orloff ſhuddered. Catharine herſelf kept a momentary ſilence. At length, turning to Panin: — " Count," ſaid ſhe, " your " arguments are full of force; but they are not " ſufficient to produce any alteration in my ſen- " timents. I know the Ruſſians, and you your-

" ſelf

" ſelf are ſo well acquainted with them as to
" know, that, provided they are governed, they
" care but little about the origin of them by
" whom the government is adminiſtered. This
" nation knows of nothing but obedience, even
" when the hand that rules it leans heavily on it.
" Mentchikoff, Biren, Munich, may ſerve as
" proofs of this truth. But it is not thus that I
" deſign to reign: far from it; I ſhall act with
" lenity, with juſtice, and in ſuch manner as not
" to give the ſlighteſt pretext to diſcontent.
" But you, who tell me of murmurs and rebel-
" lions, do you forget that it is moſtly under
" regencies that rebellions break out? Nay,
" ſhould we ever have had a thought of that we
" have now been contriving, if Peter III. were
" capable of guiding with firmneſs the reins of
" government? You are alarmed for my ſon;
" but had you rather abandon him to the fantaſtic
" humours of a father, by whom he is already
" diſowned, than truſt his fortune to a mother
" who loves him? and, if I aſpire to the ſupreme
" command, is it not for the welfare of that
" child? is it not that I may be the better able
" to recompenſe thoſe who, like you, aſſiſt me
" to defend him? Doubtleſs, they may all rely
" on my everlaſting gratitude; but in order to
" prove it to my heart's content, I muſt have

" the

" the power; and that power is what I expect " from you."

Panin was not in the leaſt ſhaken; opinions were divided, and the conſpirators came to no fixed determination.

It was eaſy to perceive that Panin only wiſhed to ſet his pupil on the throne, in the hope of occupying himſelf the ſecond place in the empire, and to govern in his name. Catharine had too much diſcernment not to have diſcovered this motive long before; accordingly ſhe had given private aſſurances to Panin that ſhe would appoint him prime miniſter; taking care, however, not to confirm this promiſe in preſence of the other conſpirators, for fear of offending the ambition of any of the party.

Princeſs Daſhkoff, Orloff, Odart, thoſe who wanted to beſtow the ſupreme power on Catharine, vied with each other in ſeeking ſome means for inducing count Panin to alter his mind; but it was long to no purpoſe, and they would certainly not have been able to ſucceed, if a paſſion leſs terrible, but more powerful, had not come into conflict with ambition. Love had already enliſted in the ſervice of Catharine the boldeſt and moſt intrepid of her conſpirators: love granted another lady the boon of ſubduing him,

him, whoſe ſtubborn mind was not to be moved by majeſty itſelf.

The neceſſity into which the plot had led Panin of converſing frequently with the princeſs Daſhkoff; the wit, the vivacity, the petulance of this young woman; her whole character, in ſhort, inſpired him with a lively tenderneſs for her. He was not long in making her an open declaration of his paſſion: ſhe received it with coldneſs, and afforded him no hope of ſucceſs. It was not however virtue in madame Daſhkoff, that impelled her to reject the profeſſions of Panin. Many other known ſuitors had already experienced that it was not invincible. But the age, the heavy air of Panin, his equivocal reputation in his attachments; and, above all, the deep and lively ſentiment ſhe had vowed to another, prevented her from yielding to the perſuaſions of the preceptor, who, dumb from that moment on the ſubject of his paſſion, ſeemed to take pleaſure in contradicting the author of its diſappointment.

The ſubtle and vigilant Odart alone diſcovered the ſecret motive of Panin's reſiſtance, and immediately promiſed to overcome it. He haſtened to the princeſs; and, after having heard her confirm what he had only ſuſpected, converſed with

with her in all the familiarity of a zealous confidant and an accomplice, who was daily in concert with her, braving exile and death. Exempt from all prejudices, or rather incapable of an eſteem for virtue, Odart had the effrontery to ridicule that which ſeemed to be a check on princeſs Daſhkoff. Then, putting on a graver look, he repreſented to her that if ſhe thought it a fault to yield to the ſollicitations of Panin, that fault would be ennobled by the motive that impelled her to commit it. He reminded her of the union of ſentiment that attached her to the empreſs; and, friendſhip being the principal virtue, no ſacrifice ſhould ſeem too dear, when we were called to the ſervice of a friend: and concluded with repreſenting to her, that it would be the triumph of heroiſm to brave the diſgrace of making her charms ſubſervient to her ambition. The princeſs Daſhkoff, whoſe romantic imagination was eaſily elevated, gave implicit credit to all that was told her by Odart, conſented to whatever Panin propoſed, and Catharine had no more obſtacles to apprehend on the part of the count*.

The

* It is but juſtice to obſerve in this place, that many perſons who attended ſucceſſively the courts of Elizabeth, Peter III. and the late empreſs, have uniformly affirmed, that,

The conſpirators therefore being brought to agreement, thought no longer of any thing but of putting their plan in execution. Of chiefs there was no want; but ſoldiers were to be obtained. The firſt thing to be done was to gain over thoſe of the guards, as well for depriving the emperor of their defence, as for a ſupport to the cauſe. The Orloffs, Bibikoff, and Paſſick had already ſeduced three companies of the regiment of Iſmaïlof; but this number was not ſufficient, and it was only by money that they could hope to corrupt others. The empreſs had it not in her power to furniſh any, as ſhe had ſcarcely wherewith to defray the daily expences of her houſehold. She therefore, in concert with princeſs Daſhkoff, commiſſioned Odart to make application to M. de Breteuil for a ſupply. That miniſter, long the confidant and the dupe of the empreſs, was preparing to quit Peterſburg. He was not ignorant that a conſpiracy was on foot, but he knew neither the

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that, of all the imputations thrown out on princeſs Daſhkoff concerning certain peculiarities in her diſpoſition and temper, they never once heard the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion caſt on her chaſtity: and to her friends it has always been her boaſt, that, though a widow at the age of 18, the moſt malignant of her enemies had nothing to accuſe her of in this reſpect.

ſprings

ſprings that were to ſet it in motion, nor the means by which it was to be conducted: he was doubtful of its ſucceſs; and, when Odart informed him that Catharine was deſirous that the king of France would lend her 60,000 rubles, he heſitated to advance that trifling ſum. Fearing however to mortify the ſelf-love of the empreſs by a formal refuſal, as well as to give too much credit to the aſſertions of Odart, whom he regarded in no other light than as a preſumptuous adventurer, he told him that he might aſſure her majeſty that the king his maſter would eſteem it a pleaſure to afford her, on that occaſion, a proof of his attachment; and that he would without delay communicate to him what ſhe deſired. At the ſame time he drew up the form of a note which he put into the hands of Odart, that ſhe might write it in her own hand, and return it to him. The note was conceived in theſe terms: "J'ai chargé le porteur du préſent billet de "vous faire mes adieux, et de vous prier de me "faire quelque petite commiſſion, que je vous "prie de m'envoyer le plutôt poſſible*."

* What a ſpecimen of M?de Breteuil's ſtyle! — "I have "commiſſioned the bearer of the preſent note to bid "you farewell in my name, and to requeſt you to give me "ſome ſmall commiſſion, which I beg you to ſend me as "ſoon as poſſible."

The Piedmonteſe, thinking that the empreſs would not have any ſcruple to write this note, promiſed it to M. de Breteuil. But that princeſs, enſibly hurt at the diſtruſt ſhewn by the french miniſter, the delays he put in practice, and the ſtate of dependence in which he wanted to place her on a court ſhe deteſted, vouchſafed not even to give him an anſwer; and M. de Breteuil, having waited ſome days without any appearance of Odart, ſet out from Ruſſia and proceeded to Vienna, where he received, by Verſailles, the news of the ſucceſs of the conſpiracy, and the order to return to St. Peterſburg*.

On the preſſure of the emergency, Catharine had conſented to borrow of M. de Breteuil; but afterwards, willing to ſhew him that ſhe could diſpenſe with his aſſiſtance, ſhe ſeized the inſtant of his departure to ſend him a note, which Odart privately delivered to Berenger, the chargé d'affaires, and contained the following words: " L'emplette que nous devions faire " ſe fera ſûrement bientôt, mais à beaucoup

* This is exactly the manner in which M. de Breteuil was of ſervice to the conſpiracy: and yet it is well known how fond he was of boaſting in France how greatly he had forwarded it.

" meilleur

" meilleur marché: ainſi nous n'avons pas beſoin " d'autres fonds *."

However, Catharine was at this moment in the moſt tremendous ſituation. The dread of ſeeing her ſchemes betrayed, the greater apprehenſion of being arreſted, dethroned, ſhut up for ever, all circumſtances conſidered, filled her with the moſt piercing diſquietude.

Peter all this while ſeemed only intent upon pleaſure; yet in reality he was not inattentive to the condition of the unhappy Ivan, and to his military preparations.

After having lodged this prince at Kexholm, he cauſed him to be ſecretly conducted to Peterſburg, where he was put in a houſe of no conſpicuous figure; in which he viſited him during the night, accompanied by Gudovitch and Volkoff.

The fleet he had deſtined to act againſt Denmark being completely equipped, one diviſion remained yet at Cronſtadt, while the other lay waiting for it at Revel. The regiments that were to follow in this expedition were already in Pomerania, and others were on their march to join them. In a word, he was ready to put

* " The purchaſe we intended to make will certainly " be made ſoon, but at a much cheaper rate: therefore we " have no need of other ſupplies."

himſelf at the head of his army for the invaſion of Hólſtein. What ſeemed to flatter him moſt in this conqueſt was the being capacitated thereby to pay his reſpects to him whom he ſtyled his friend, his brother, and his model, the king of Pruſſia. In the expectation of this happineſs, he treated the envoy of that monarch with ſuch diſtinctions and even adulations as Frederic himſelf would never have endured: but this envoy* was young, and perhaps vaunted too much of the marks of deference ſhewn him by the emperor. Peter had at length fixed his departure for the day following the feſtival of Peter and Paul†, which he was, as uſual, to celebrate

* It was baron Goltz, who was afterwards miniſter in France from Pruſſia, and died at Bâle in 1794. It has been ſaid, that while Goltz has been ſhut up for hours together with young women of the court, the tzar, with a firelock on his ſhoulder, ſtood ſentry at the door, as a common ſoldier. But who does not ſee that this muſt be a ſtory invented by the calumniators of that unfortunate prince?

† To make it believed that the tzar was completely ſtupid, the report has been ſtudiouſly propagated, that when he was heated by wine and punch, he never failed to talk of ſchemes of conqueſt, and to give himſelf up to the tranſports of an extravagant ambition. Two days before the revolution that hurled him from the throne, he held, it is ſaid, the following diſcourſe: "Of what uſe are all thoſe "petty ſovereigns of Europe? What are they? I am re-"ſolved

celebrate at Peterhof, and at the end of which he purpoſed to cauſe the empreſs to be arreſted. But the empreſs was taking meaſures effectually to prevent his deſign. Her party was waiting only for the moment of action*. That moment was accelerated by chance.

They who plan a conſpiracy have always more zeal, more vigilance and activity, than he againſt whom it is directed. Accordingly the friends of Catharine were carefully informed of all that paſſed about the tzar, while he was ignorant of all their

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" ſolved that, in future, there ſhall be but three powers in " this part of the world: Ruſſia, Pruſſia, and France. I " will have all the North, the king of Pruſſia ſhall have all " Germany, and the king of France the reſt." — " But," obſerved one of his courtiers, " what does your majeſty " think of putting France into your diviſion?" — " Oh! " yes," replied the tzar; " France is likewiſe a great " power!" It is much to be doubted that, however intoxicated Peter might be, he ever intended to make ſuch a partition of Europe.

* Catharine's party conſiſted of the hetman Razumoffſky, the preceptor of the grand duke count Panin, the maſter of artillery Villebois, general Volkonſkoï, the brothers Orloff, the princeſs Daſhkoff, (to whom the empreſs was as ſtrongly attached, as the emperor was to her ſiſter Elizabeth Vorontzoff,) &c. With Peter was count Munich, who would alone perhaps have outweighed all the others, if the emperor had but reſolved to follow the counſels of this experienced veteran.

proceedings. Expecting, in indolent ſecurity, the feſtivities of Peterhof, his majeſty was gone to paſs ſome days at his country palace of Oranienbaum*, whither he had taken with him ſome of the handſomeſt women of the court. On this occaſion a report was ſpread, that he wanted to demand divorces for theſe women, that he might marry them to ſome of his courtiers. It was

* The palace of Oranienbaum was built by prince Mentchikoff, in 1727, as his country reſidence: on whoſe fall it reverted to the crown. It ſtands on the coaſt of the gulf of Finnland in 59° 52', N. L. 40 verſts from St. Peterſburg, 8 from Peterhof, and 7 from the iſland of Cronſtadt. The palace is ſituated, like that of Peterhof, on a riſe about 15 fathom above the level of the ſea, formed into terraces; by means whereof it has a beautiful proſpect of the gulf, of Cronſtadt, and the ſhips, galleots, &c. continually paſſing in the ſummer ſeaſon. The palace is not large, conſiſts of a central building of two ſtories, crowned with a turret, and two wings, each connected with it by a colonnade. To walk on the top of theſe colonnades for enjoying the pure air and the fine proſpect is extremely agreeable. One of the wings is a chapel; and ſome of the apartments are very richly fitted up; one with all kinds of coſtly porcelaine, another lacquered in the chineſe taſte, black and gold, &c. Within theſe few years the late empreſs Catharine II. gave it for the uſe of the noble ſea-cadet corps. It has ſpacious gardens belonging to it. — That corps has ſince been removed to the Vaſſilly-oſtrof, and the palace of Oranienbaum has been granted to the grand duke Conſtantine.

even

even added, that beds had been ordered for theſe pretended nuptials; and ſhame, contempt, and jealouſy created him new enemies, and procured as many partiſans to Catharine.

The conſpirators, who at firſt had agreed to ſeize and carry off the tzar on his appearance again at St. Peterſburg, thought, in conſequence of a new deliberation, that it would be too dangerous to wait ſo long, and that it would be better to execute their deſign on his coming to Peterhof.

The plan was well concerted: each of the conſpirators was reckoning on his own courage and the fidelity of his friends, when all at once their plot was diſcovered. This diſcovery, however, was not the effect of chance; and, by a ſtrange caprice of fortune, the very accident which, by its natural effect, ought to have diſconcerted the traitors, emboldened them; and their precipitancy ſecured their ſucceſs.

By an exceſs of diffidence or precaution, princeſs Daſhkoff and Odart had ſet a truſty perſon to watch the ſteps of each of the chiefs of the conſpiracy, who regularly brought them an exact account of whatever theſe chiefs might be likely to do; in ſuch manner, that if there had been the leaſt tendency towards treachery among them, they would have detected it inſtantaneouſly,

ſtantaneouſly, and have taken meaſures for their ſecurity or their vengeance.

Paſſick had gained the ſoldiers of the company of the guards in which he was lieutenant. One of theſe ſoldiers, imagining that Paſſick did nothing but in concurrence with his captain, aſked the captain on what day they were to take up arms againſt the emperor. The captain, ſurpriſed, had recourſe to diſſimulation; and anſwering the queſtions of the ſoldier in vague and indiſtinct terms, drew out of him the ſecret of the conſpiracy, and went, without delay, to make report of it to the chancery of the regiment.

It was nine o'clock at night. Paſſick was put under arreſt: but at firſt he was ſhoved into a room, where he had time to write with a pencil on a ſcrap of paper, "Proceed to execution this "inſtant, or we are undone." The man who watched his motions preſented himſelf at the door. Paſſick, not knowing him, but ſeeing that every thing was to be riſked, gave him the billet, telling him that if he ran with it in all ſpeed to the hetman Razumoffſky, he would be handſomely rewarded. The ſpy hurried to the princeſs Daſhkoff, and put the billet into her hand. Panin happened that moment to come in. She propoſed to haſten the execution of their project, obſerving that the only means of

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ſaving themſelves from the vengeance of the tzar was to prevent it; and that, however weak he might be, if time were allowed him to put himſelf on his defence, it would be impoſſible to get the better of him. But whether or not Panin thought really that the enterpriſe could not ſucceed, whether his capacity was not ſufficiently ſeconded by courage, for beginning to act, he refuſed to ſubmit to the reaſons of princeſs Daſhkoff; and after having told her that it would be better to wait till the next day, to know what was fitteſt to be done, he withdrew.

In the mean time the emiſſaries of princeſs Daſhkoff had already taken care to give intelligence to the other conſpirators. On Panin's departure, ſhe put on man's apparel, and went to join Orloff and his friends on the green bridge, where ſhe was in the habit of ſeeing them, that ſhe might avoid raiſing ſuſpicion by getting to her too many ſubaltern officers and ſoldiers *.

* Beſides the noble and beautiful river Neva, with its three bridges of boats ingeniouſly removed and replaced twice every year, and beſides the canals with their elegant quays and magnificent ſtone bridges, there is yet another river, paſſing through the city, the Moika, the numerous drawbridges over which are ſtill of wood, and theſe are denominated according to the colour with which they are painted, the red bridge, the blue bridge, the green bridge, &c.

Theſe

Theſe conſpirators were neither leſs uneaſy than princeſs Daſhkoff, nor leſs impatient for haſtening the execution of their plot. The delay till the morrow appeared to them to be big with conſequences the moſt to be dreaded; and it certainly would have been fatal. The time of acting was the ſilence of the night, without allowing the tzar time to form an inclination to prevent them, nor the troops and the people time to arm for the defence of the tzar. The reſolution was unanimous. While Gregory Orloff, one of his brothers, and his friend Bibikoff, repaired to the barracks for the purpoſe of preparing the ſoldiers of their party to act on the firſt ſignal, another brother of Orloff, Alexius, took upon him the perilous commiſſion of going to find out the empreſs at Peterhof.

Under pretext of leaving the apartments free for the feſtival that was to be celebrated at the palace, and for enabling herſelf, in reality, to be more in readineſs to eſcape, Catharine was lodged in a remote ſummer-houſe, at the foot whereof runs a canal that communicates with the Neva, and where ſhe had cauſed to be faſtened, as if without deſign, a ſmall boat, that it might occaſionally be of ſervice in the ſecret viſits of her favourites, and to facilitate her own eſcape into

into Sweden, if the conſpiracy ſhould be diſcovered. Gregory Orloff having given his brother a key to this ſummer-houſe, inſtructed him in the methods he muſt employ for getting thither; and princeſs Daſhkoff truſted him with a ſhort note, to engage the empreſs to come to them without loſs of time.

It was now two o'clock in the morning. The empreſs, not expecting any body, had retired to reſt, and lay in a profound ſleep, when ſhe perceived herſelf ſuddenly rouſed, and ſaw ſtanding at the ſide of her bed a ſoldier whom ſhe knew nothing of. Without delivering her the note from princeſs Daſhkoff, the ſoldier ſaid to Catharine:—"Your majeſty has not a moment "to loſe; get ready to follow me:" and immediately diſappeared.

Catharine, aſtoniſhed, terrified, called Ivanovna. They dreſſed themſelves in haſte, and diſguiſed themſelves in ſuch manner that they could not be known by the ſentinels about the palace. Scarcely were they ready, when the ſoldier returned, and told the empreſs that a carriage was waiting for them at the garden-gate. It was a coach which, under pretext of having change of horſes for an excurſion into the country, princeſs Daſhkoff had kept for ſeveral days in readineſs at a houſe inhabited by one of her peaſants

peaſants a few miles from Peterhof, and which Alexèy Orloff had ſent one of his comrades to fetch.

The empreſs reached the carriage without difficulty. She got into it. Alexèy Orloff took the reins, and ſet off at full ſpeed. Suddenly the horſes, being over-driven, ſtopped ſhort, and fell down. They were obliged to get out. Alexèy Orloff and his companion employed every effort to cheer the horſes, but in vain. The diſtance from Peterſburg was ſtill conſiderable; it was in the midſt of the night; they were in the greateſt confuſion, and the danger was every moment becoming more imminent: they reſolved to proceed the reſt of the way on foot. They had not gone far, when by good luck they met a light country cart. Alexèy Orloff ſeized hold of the horſes, the empreſs got in, and they ſet off again as before. They preſently heard the ſound of another carriage coming after them with unuſual rapidity. It was Gregory Orloff, who, calculating the moments, was alarmed at not yet ſeeing the empreſs. Immediately knowing her, he cried out, that they only waited for her; and without ſtaying for her anſwer, drove on before to receive her at Peterſburg. At length Catharine, worn out with fatigue and anxiety, but ſufficiently miſtreſs of herſelf

herſelf to aſſume a ſedate and tranquil air, arrived in the city at ſeven in the morning *.

She proceeded directly to the quarter of the Iſmaïloſſky guards, of which three companies had been already won over; but the conſpirators would not permit them to leave the barracks till Catharine appeared, for fear of failing in their aim by too great precipitancy. At the report of the arrival of her majeſty, about thirty of the ſoldiers, half dreſſed, ran out to receive her with clamorous ſhouts of joy. Surpriſed and alarmed at ſeeing ſo ſmall a number of ſoldiers ſhe kept ſilence for a moment, and then told them, in a tremulous voice, "that her danger had "driven her to the neceſſity of coming to aſk "their aſſiſtance; that the tzar had intended to "put her to death that very night, together with "her ſon; that ſhe had no other means than by "flight of eſcaping death; and that ſhe had ſo "much confidence in their diſpoſitions as to put "herſelf entirely in their hands."

All who heard her ſhuddered with indignation, and ſwore to die in her defence. Their example, and the hetman Razumoffſky their colonel, who was not long ere he appeared, ſoon collected other ſoldiers, led by curioſity, in great numbers about the empreſs, who, with one

* The 9th of July N. S. 1762.

conſent declared her ſovereign. The chaplain of the regiment of Iſmaïlof was immediately called, who, fetching a crucifix from the altar, received on it the oath of the troops. Some voices were heard in this tumultuous concourſe, proclaiming Catharine regent; but theſe ſounds were preſently ſtifled by the threats of Orloff and the more numerous cries of "Long live the "empreſs!"

The Simeonoffky and the Préobaginſky * guards had already imitated thoſe of Iſmaïlof. The officers, with the utmoſt docility, put themſelves at the head of their companies, as though they had been engaged in the plot. Two alone, of the regiment of Préobaginſky, had the boldneſs to counteract their ſoldiers; but they were ſuddenly arreſted: and among thoſe who had been gained over, there were only wanting the major Tſchapeloff and the lieutenant Pouſhkin, whom the empreſs had ſent orders to have put under arreſt, obſerving with coldneſs that ſhe had no further occaſion for them.

While the hetman Razumoffſky, prince Volkonſky, counts Bruce and Stroganoff, ſeve-

* Of the Aſcenſion. It was the regiment of Préobaginſky that placed Elizabeth on the throne. Elizabeth, as a grateful return, conferred nobility on all the grenadiers of that corps.

ral

ral other general officers, and princeſs Daſhkoff, remained about Catharine, and ſhe was completely ſecuring the three regiments of guards, Gregory Orloff ran to the regiment of artillery, to draw it into the revolt, and march it to the empreſs. But though he was treaſurer of that corps, and well enough beloved of the ſoldiers, they unanimouſly refuſed to follow him, and inſiſted on ſeeing the orders of their general Villebois. That officer for ſome time ſeemed to be favourably regarded by Catharine, and thought that he was ſo ſtill; but as ſhe diſcerned in him a probity too auſtere to allow her to hope that he would take part in the conſpiracy, ſhe had never ventured to diſcloſe it to him; and when one of the friends of Orloff appeared, and told him that her majeſty commanded him to come and join her at the barracks of the guards at the head of his regiment, he aſked whether the emperor was dead. The friend of Orloff, without anſwering his queſtion, repeated the order; and Villebois, in utter aſtoniſhment, went alone to the empreſs.

Villebois, ſeeing Catharine ſurrounded by an immenſe crowd of people, found no difficulty in divining what it was ſhe expected of him; but, ſtill withheld by the fidelity he had ſworn to the emperor, or by the danger to which he thought

her majeſty was expoſing herſelf, he preſumed to ſpeak to her of the obſtacles which yet remained for her to ſurmount; and added, that ſhe ought to have foreſeen them. She haughtily interrupted him; and replied, "that ſhe had not ſent "for him to aſk him what ſhe ought to have "foreſeen, but to know how he intended to "act."

"To obey your majeſty," returned Villebois in confuſion; and went to put himſelf at the head of his regiment, and to deliver the arſenals to the friends of Catharine.

So many advantages coſt the empreſs no more than two hours. She ſaw herſelf already ſurrounded by 2000 warriors, and a great part of the inhabitants of Peterſburg, who mechanically followed the motions of the ſoldiers, and were eager to applaud them.

The hetman Razumoffſky adviſed her then to repair to the church of Kaſan, where every thing was prepared for her reception. She accordingly ſet out, attended by her numerous ſuite. The windows and doors of all the houſes were filled with ſpectators, who mingled their acclamations with the ſhouts of the ſoldiers. The archbiſhop of Novgorod, who, appareled in his ſacerdotal robes, and accompanied by a great number of prieſts, whoſe long beards and

hoary heads gave them a venerable appearance, ſtood at the altar to receive her, ſet the imperial crown on her head, proclaimed her in a loud voice ſovereign of all the Ruſſias, by the name of Catharine the Second; and declared, at the ſame time, the young grand duke Paul Petrovitch her ſucceſſor. A Te Deum was then chanted, accompanied with the ſhouts of the multitude.

This ceremony being over, the empreſs repaired to the palace that had been occupied by Elizabeth. The gates were thrown open indiſcriminately to all comers. During ſeveral hours the crowd flocked thither, falling on their knees before her, and taking the oath of allegiance.

In the mean time the conſpirators were unwearied in their viſits to the ſeveral quarters of the town, to put them in a ſtate of defence; every where ſtationing a guard, and placing cannons with match lighted, without meeting any impediment or interruption. Prince George of Holſtein, uncle to the emperor, dared to venture out, followed by a few faithful ſoldiers; but he was ſurrounded, forced to ſurrender, loaded with inſults, roughly handled, and dragged to priſon, whence the empreſs delivered him after ſome hours, in order to put him under arreſt in his own houſe.

Not only no reſiſtance was oppoſed to the partiſans of Catharine, but none of the friends of the tzar once thought of informing him of what was paſſing at Peterſburg. One man alone, a foreigner, named Breſſan*, who owed his fortune to that prince, had the reſolution to inſtance his gratitude and fidelity. He cauſed a domeſtic to put on the habit of a countryman, and gave him a written paper, with orders to deliver it only into the hands of the emperor. The ſervant happened to paſs juſt as the conſpirators were placing a guard on the Kalinka bridge over the Fontanka, which muſt be croſſed for going out of the city on that ſide, and made the beſt of his way to Oranienbaum; but, on his reaching the palace, he found that the tzar was not there, and was obliged to go in queſt of him to Peterhof.

All circumſtances ſeemed to concur to favour the plot. On the Peterhof road, and at ſome diſtance from Peterſburg, a regiment of 1600 men was encamped, among whom no ſort of intelligence had been practiſed; and it was much to be apprehended that, on the very firſt tidings of the revolt, the tzar would order them to break up the camp, and join his holſtein troops. No

* He came into the country as a barber and perukemaker, being born in the ſtate of Monaco, and was a naturalized Frenchman.

ſooner

ſooner were meaſures ſet on foot to prevent this cataſtrophe, than colonel Olſufieff, who commanded that regiment, and had heard ſome confuſed reports of what was going forward in town, made his appearance for gaining further information. The conſpirators got about him, talked to him with enthuſiaſm, perſuaded him by arguments adapted to the purpoſe; and Olſufieff preſently returned to ſurrender his regiment to Catharine. At the very moment that he was haranguing his men, an order from Peter arrived for the regiment to march immediately to him. The ſoldiers, perplexed and confounded, unanimouſly cried out, that they did not acknowledge him for emperor, and directly began their march to go and augment the forces of the conſpiracy.

Before the end of the day, Catharine had already 15,000 men of picked troops. The city was in formidable ſtate of defence. Strict order prevailed there; and by the greateſt good fortune, not one drop of blood was ſhed.

What principally tended to the ſervice of that princeſs, was the intereſt and concern that her partiſans inſpired into all men for her, by propagating on every ſide, that the tzar had deſtined that very day to put her to death with her ſon. The atrocious falſehood was believed without

examination; and ſucceſs was the reward of the calumny.

When the empreſs was at the palace, ſhe ſent without delay, for her ſon Paul Petrovitch. A detachment, at the head of which marched a truſty officer, went to bring him; and that young prince, who had been often told of the deſigns of the tzar againſt him, on his waking in the midſt of the ſoldiers, was ſeized with an alarming fright. Panin took him in his arms, and brought him to his mother. Catharine then led him into the balcony of the palace, holding him up to ſhew him to the people, whoſe acclamations redoubled at the ſight of the child, thinking that in him they beheld the new emperor.

A report all at once got up, that Peter III. was no more, and that the proceſſion with his corpſe was now going by. A profound ſilence then took place of the cries of the multitude. Several ſoldiers in long black cloaks, with torches in their hands, walked on each ſide of a large coffin covered with a pall, and preceded by a number of prieſts, chanting their litanies as the proceſſion moved along; while the crowd reſpectfully fell back on both ſides, to make room for it to paſs. But afterwards it was not doubted that this was an additional ſtratagem invented by the

the conſpirators for deceiving the people, and for intimidating the partiſans of the tzar.

The principal nobles, who, for the moſt part, had taken no ſhare in this conſpiracy, and who firſt learned the ſucceſs of it at their riſing in the morning, reſorted immediately to the palace; where, forced to diſguiſe their aſtoniſhment and vexation, they united their homages and their oaths of fidelity to thoſe which the multitude had juſt been taking to Catharine.

The heads of the conſpiracy, collected round that princeſs, now held a council, reſolved to profit by the diſpoſitions of the army, and to march in all haſte directly to the emperor: but, in the mean time, for putting the empreſs in ſecurity from all attack by ſea, or rather in order to quiet the ſoldiers, who imagined that ſhe was liable every moment to be ſurpriſed and aſſaſſinated, they conducted her from the palace of Elizabeth, into an old palace built of timber, facing a large open place, and which they ſurrounded by troops.

Towards noon her majeſty, entirely ſure of St. Peterſburg, cauſed a manifeſto, which Odart had ſecretly cauſed to be printed a few days before, to be diſtributed throughout the city*.

* See the Appendix at the end of the volume.

This publication being made, the empreſs cauſed a notification to be delivered to the foreign miniſters on the day when they were to be admitted to pay their court, and preſent their compliments of congratulation on the event.

While theſe things were tranſacting, the empreſs, decorated with the inſignia of the order of St. Andrew, and habited in the uniform of the guards, which ſhe had borrowed for the occaſion of a very young officer, named Taliezin, mounted on horſeback, and rode through the ranks with princeſs Daſhkoff, who was alſo in uniform. It was then that the young Potemkin*, enſign of the regiment of horſe-guards, perceiving that Catharine had no plume in her hat, rode up to offer her his. The horſe on which Potemkin was mounted, being accuſtomed to form into the ſquadron, was ſome time before he could be brought to quit the ſide of that of her majeſty, thereby affording her an opportunity of remarking for the firſt time the grace and agility of him who, in the ſequel, gained ſuch an aſcendant over her.

The troops, being inceſſantly ſupplied with beer and brandy, inceſſantly likewiſe expreſſed their ſatisfaction by reiterated vociferations of

* He was then only ſixteen.

hourra!

hourra! and by toſſing up their hats and caps; but a regiment of cavalry, of which Peter III. had been colonel while yet only grand duke, and which he had incorporated with the guards on his acceſſion to the throne, took no participation in this tumultuous joy. The officers, having all refuſed obedience to Catharine, were under arreſt, and replaced by the officers of other regiments; and the ſoldiers, by the ſullen ſilence they obſerved, formed a ſtriking contraſt with the furious noiſe and geſticulations of the reſt.

But the party was too ſtrong to have any thing to fear from this regiment; and they began now to march the troops from the city, to proceed againſt the tzar. Her majeſty ſat down to dinner near an open window, in full view of the ſoldiers and the multitudes whom curioſity had aſſembled in the ample place before the palace.

Peter III. had yet no ſuſpicion of what was paſſing. His ſecurity was even ſo great, that he had that morning cauſed a faithful officer to be arreſted, who the evening before, having had ſome intimations of the conſpiracy, had haſtened in the night to Oranienbaum, thinking it his duty to inform him of it. Peter afterwards ſet out in a calaſh, with his miſtreſs, his favourites, and the women of his court, for Peterhof, to be preſent at the grand feſtivities of the following day.

day. The tzar's carriage was attended by ſeveral others; and this numerous train proceeded in a ſwift pace, the ſeveral companies within gaily entertaining themſelves with the pleaſures they expected, when Gudovitch, the general aide-de-camp, who had galloped on before, was perceived returning at full ſpeed. Gudovitch had met on the road one of the chamberlains of the empreſs *, coming on foot to his maſter to inform him of Catharine's eſcape, and the uneaſineſs and perplexity that, in conſequence of it, filled the whole palace of Peterhof. At this unexpected news, Gudovitch turned back, and, as he approached the tzar's carriage, called out to the driver to ſtop. Peter, ſurpriſed, and even rather angry, not knowing what could cauſe his aide-de-camp to ride back with ſo much ſpeed, aſked him if he was mad. Gudovitch came cloſe to the carriage, and whiſpered ſome words in his ear. Peter now turned pale, and, ſtrongly agitated, got out of the carriage, and went aſide with Gudovitch in order to interrogate him more at his eaſe. Then returning to the carriage, and having deſired the ladies to come out, he ſhewed them a gate of the park, through which he bade them join him at the front of the palace, regained the carriage with

* His name was Iſmaïloff.

ſome

ſome of his courtiers, and departed with the greateſt expedition.

On coming to Peterhof, the emperor ran to the pavilion that had been occupied by Catharine; and in his confuſion, in his extreme concern, he looked about for her as if ſhe might have been concealed under the bed, or in one of the cupboards. He overwhelmed all he met with queſtions; but nobody could give him any ſatisfaction. Thoſe of greater penetration than the reſt already foreſaw the whole extent of his misfortune, but were ſilent, that they might not increaſe his affright. Counteſs Vorontzoff, his miſtreſs, and the other women, who were now coming up the walks of the garden, were ſtill entirely ignorant of what it could be that had forced the tzar to quit them in the midſt of the road. As ſoon as Peter perceived the counteſs, he called to her: "Romanovna, will you be-"lieve me now? Catharine has made her "eſcape. I told you that ſhe was capable of "any thing!"

In the mean time ſome boors, who were returning from St. Peterſburg, related to a group of valets whom they ſaw ſtanding about the palace, what they knew of the inſurrection that had happened, and theſe valets talked of it among themſelves in whiſpers, but neither ſpoke

of

of it to their maſter nor to any of the courtiers. A gloomy ſuſpicion already prevailed around the unhappy emperor. It ſeemed as if a fatal preſentiment had taken poſſeſſion of every heart, as the forerunner of his fall, and filled his own with confuſion and diſmay. He preſently became afraid to put any more queſtions, and nobody dared to give him any information.

At length a countryman ſuddenly came up in the midſt of this affrighted concourſe, and with the uſual ſalutation of a profound inclination of body, without pronouncing a ſingle word, drew from the boſom of his caftan a ſealed note, which he preſented to the emperor. This countryman was Breſſan's domeſtic. The emperor took the note, ran his eyes haſtily over it, and then reading it aloud, informed thoſe who were ſtanding round him, that a rebellion had broke out that morning at Peterſburg: that the troops had taken arms in favour of Catharine; that ſhe was going to be crowned in the church of Kaſan; and that the whole of the populace ſeemed to take part in the inſurrection.

The tzar ſeemed greatly dejected at theſe tidings. The courtiers did their utmoſt to communicate to him a courage which they did not themſelves poſſeſs. The chancellor Vorontzoff obſerved, that it was highly poſſible that Catharine

rine might have uſed her endeavours to make the ſoldiery and the people riſe, but that this ſlight fermentation could not be attended with any dangerous conſequences; and if the tzar would give his conſent, he would haſte immediately to Peterſburg, and be bound to bring the empreſs back.

The tzar, without heſitation, accepted the chancellor's propoſal; and that miniſter departed for town. On entering the palace, he found the empreſs ſurrounded by a multitude of people in the act of doing homage. He nevertheleſs had the boldneſs to repreſent to her with a becoming confidence the danger to which ſhe was expoſing herſelf. "You may," ſaid he, "madam, have ſome ſucceſs; but it will not be "of long duration. Is it therefore acting wiſely "to truſt to the blind zeal of your imprudent "friends? Is it worth while, for the ſake of "ſharing with them in a momentary reign, "to make an irreconcileable enemy of your "huſband? Why take up arms againſt him, "when it is ſo eaſy for you to obtain whatever "you can deſire by the gentleneſs of your perſuaſion, and the ſuperiority of your mind? "Conſider, that the regiments of the guards do "not compoſe the whole army of the tzar, and "that the inhabitants of St. Peterſburg are but a

"very

" very weak part of the ruſſian nation." Catharine calmly replied, " You ſee how it is: it " is not I that am doing any thing; I only yield " to the ardent ſenſibility of the nation."

The chancellor, who actually ſaw the crowd every moment increaſing, and read in the angry looks of ſome of the conſpirators that theſe remonſtrances might be attended with the worſt of conſequences to him, forgot his duty, took the oath with the reſt, and added, " I will ſerve you " in the council, madam; but I am uſeleſs in the " field. My preſence might even be diſpleaſing " to thoſe who have been hearing my addreſs to " you; and that I may avoid exciting their " jealouſies, I beſeech your majeſty to let me " remain in my houſe, under the guard of ſome " truſty officer." To this reaſonable requeſt the empreſs conſented. She ſent him home, with orders not to quit his houſe. By this prudent precaution, the chancellor was at once ſafe from the vindictive ſpirit of the partiſans of Catharine, and from the ſuſpicions of the tzar.

At ſix in the evening, Catharine a ſecond time mounted her horſe; and, with a drawn ſword in her hand, and an oaken wreath about her temples, ſhe haſtened to put herſelf at the head of her troops that were already on their march. Princeſs Daſhkoff and the hetman Razumoffſky

Razumoffſky rode one on each ſide of her. A crowd of courtiers followed; all of them vying with each other who ſhould diſplay the greateſt ardour in ſharing her dangers, and partaking in her triumph. Her army was augmented by a new acceſſion of 3000 kozaks well mounted, whom the emperor had ordered to file off towards Pomerania, but who were ſtopped on the way by a meſſenger from the hetman, with directions to join him.

In the mean time, after the departure of the chancellor, the tzar had continued a prey to the moſt diſtreſſing anxieties. He was every inſtant receiving ſome news of the progreſs of the revolution. It was impoſſible for him any longer to make it a matter of doubt. Surrounded by women in tears, and young courtiers incapable of giving advice, he ſtrolled with great ſtrides about the walks of the gardens, forming twenty different plans, and adhering to none: one while indulging in violent imprecations againſt Catharine; then dictating uſeleſs manifeſtoes. When the hour of dinner was come, he commanded it to be ſerved up on the margin of the ſea, and ſeemed for ſome time to have a reſpite from his ſorrowful reflections.

But this reſpite was of ſhort duration. His affrighted imagination ſoon held up again the danger

danger that menaced him, and he diſpatched an order to the 3000 Holſteiners whom he had left at Oranienbaum, to come immediately with their artillery. It was juſt at this point of time that the venerable marſhal Munich made his appearance.

Munich, whom the emperor reſpected on account of his great military reputation, and whom he had almoſt affronted by requeſting him to adopt the new pruſſian exerciſe; Munich was the only man who was able to give him ſalutary advice, and he gave it him. "Your majeſty's "troops are arriving," ſaid the veteran commander. "Let us put ourſelves at their head, "and march ſtraight to Peterſburg. You have "ſtill many friends there: immediately on your "appearance they will arm in your defence. "The principal part of the guards are only "under a momentary alienation, into which "they have been miſled, and will ſoon range "themſelves under your ſtandard. Beſides, if "we are forced to come to action, be aſſured "that the rebels will not long diſpute with you "the palm of victory."

This reſolution ſeemed feaſible to the tzar, but it was far from pleaſing his timid courtiers; and while they were preparing to begin their march, news arrived of the empreſs's approach, whoſe army was ſaid to conſiſt of 20,000 men.

The

The women cried out, that it would be better to go back to Oranienbaum. Peter himſelf ſeemed determined not to expoſe his perſon. "Well!" returned Munich, "if you wiſh to decline a "battle with the rebels, it is not adviſable for "you, at any rate, to ſtay to be attacked by "them here, where you have no means of de- "fending yourſelf to advantage. Neither Ora- "nienbaumn or Peterhof are in a capacity to "hold out a ſiege. But Cronſtadt offers you "a ſafe retreat. Cronſtadt is ſtill under your "command. You have there a formidable "fleet, and a numerous garriſon. It is, in "ſhort, from Cronſtadt that you will find it an "eaſy matter to bring Peterſburg back to its "duty."

This advice was unanimouſly applauded. General Devier was immediately ſent off in a boat to take the command of Cronſtadt*; and ſcarcely

* The iſland of Cronſtadt lies oppoſite to Oranienbaum, at the diſtance of ſeven verſts. When in poſſeſſion of the Swedes it was called Retuſari, and by the Ruſſians Kotloi-oſtrof, kettle-iſland. In 1723 Peter the great named it Cronſtadt, or crown town, as being the crown to his new city: it is ſituate in the eaſtern extremity of the gulf of Finland, is 39 verſts W. N. W. diſtant from St. Peterſburg, and from Seſtrabek 12. The iſland is 8 verſts in length from E. to W. and about one verſt in breadth; it is flat, about 8 fathom higher than the level of the ſea, with

ſcarcely were two yachts prepared for the departure of the tzar, than an officer came to aſſure

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ſome woody parts of birch and firs. Its ſtrata, under the turf, as was ſeen in digging the canals, are clay and limeſtone. Two ſmaller iſlands on its ſouthern ſide are ſtrongly fortified, one of which has the name of Cronſlot. The town and fort of Cronſtadt were built by Peter I. in 1710. It has two fine, ſecure, and ſpacious harbours, one for the imperial navy, and the other for merchant-ſhips, of which it is full during the ſummer and autumn months. The town occupies the eaſtern part of the iſland, is large, has many good houſes, ſeveral churches, a cuſtom-houſe, and other public buildings. Here is alſo an engliſh church with a miniſter, for the benefit of the maſters and ſailors of the ſhips that reſort hither in the ſervice of the ruſſia trade. The harbour for the ſhips of war is extremely remarkable, and frequently viſited by foreigners to their great ſatisfaction. It is protected by piers and batteries, and belonging to it is the famous Peter's canal and the docks. The canal was begun by Peter I. and completed under Elizabeth, by general Lubras. It is faced with maſonry, 1050 fathoms in length, at bottom 60, and at top 100 fathoms broad, 24 fathoms deep, and in this ſtate extends 358 fathoms into the ſea. Adjacent to the canal are the docks, in which 10 and more ſhips may be repaired at a time. They are provided with proper ſluices, for admitting and for letting out the ſhips. The evacuation of the baſon, after letting in a veſſel, is performed by a ſteam-engine. The other canals made by order of the late empreſs, the large mole ſurrounded by a pier of granite, conſtructed under the direction of admiral Greig, with many other particulars, render Cronſtadt richly worthy the obſervation of all travellers into thoſe parts.

him

him that he might rely on the fidelity of that place. Peter, who thought he already ſaw Catharine at the gates of Peterhof, precipitately got on board, followed by his affrighted court and the intrepid Munich.

It ſeemed as if ſome dreadful fatality hung over the head of the unfortunate monarch to fruſtrate all the wiſeſt meaſures he adopted. Every thing in Cronſtadt had aſſumed a new face within the ſpace of a few hours. The fleet and the regiments, which had juſt received general Devier with cries of joy, and ſwearing to continue their fealty to the tzar, had already broke out into open revolt: Devier was deprived of the command and put into priſon; and this rapid change was the effect of a ſtratagem.

During the firſt hours of the inſurrection, and in the meaſures that were primarily taken for enſuring its ſucceſs, not one of the conſpirators had beſtowed a thought upon the fort of Cronſtadt. It was not even till afternoon that ſomebody, reflecting on the importance of that place, remarked the miſtake they had committed in neglecting it ſo long. Admiral Taliezin made the offer to go and take poſſeſſion of it. It was accepted. He embarked in his long-boat, expreſsly forbad his rowers to mention whence they came, and arrived at Cronſtadt. General Devier, who

kept on the look-out, as he expected every moment the emperor, ran forward to meet Taliezin, and artfully endeavoured to discover whether he was of Catharine's party; but Taliezin, more artful than he, pretended ignorance of the effects of the revolt; saying, that being at his country-house, and hearing a confused account of some disturbance that had happened at Petersburg, he was hurrying to get on board the fleet, whither his duty called him. Devier believed the story, and went his way. Taliezin immediately repaired to the quarter of the sailors, harangued them, told them of the success of the empress, that they could not do better than to declare for her, distributed among them brandy and money, and engaged them to follow him to arrest the commandant. Some soldiers joined themselves to the sailors. Devier was instantly thrown into prison, and Taliezin remained master, in the name of the empress, of a place, the possession whereof might have been the salvation of the tzar, or at least have furnished him with the means of making a stout resistance.

Precisely while this scene was transacting, Peter presented himself before the mouth of the harbour. Taliezin had already made the dispositions for preventing his coming on shore.

A part

A part of the garriſon, under arms, lined the coaſt. The cannons were levelled, the matches lighted, and at the moment when the foremoſt yacht caſt anchor, the centinel called out, "Who "comes there?" — "The emperor," it was anſwered from the yacht. "There is no em- "peror," replied the centinel. Peter ſtarted forward; and, throwing back his cloak, to ſhew the badges of his order, exclaimed, "What! "do you not know me?" — "No," ejaculated a thouſand voices at once, "we know of no em- "peror. Long live the empreſs Catharine!" Then Taliezin threatened to ſink the yacht if it did not put off in an inſtant. Peter retired in great conſternation: but Gudovitch took him by the arm; and, laying hold on one of the timbers at the entrance of the mole; "Put your "hands by the ſide of mine," ſaid he, "and let "us leap on ſhore. None will dare to fire "upon you, and Cronſtadt will ſtill belong to "your majeſty*."

Munich ſeconded the advice of Gudovitch; but in vain. In his diſmay, Peter III. would conſent to nothing but flight, and ran to hide himſelf in the cabin of the yacht, among the

* Counteſs Bruce and madam Zagréiſky, who were both preſent, have frequently related this tranſaction.

terrified women. They did not even give themſelves time to raiſe the anchor; but cut the cable, and went off by the uſe of their oars.

When the yachts were at a conſiderable diſtance from the port, the rowers ſtopped. It was a fine night; and Munich and Gudovitch, ſitting upon deck, contemplated in ſilent ſorrow the ſtarry ſky and the calm ſurface of the ſea. The ſteerſman came down into the cabin, to aſk the tzar whither he would pleaſe to be taken into the veſſel. Peter ordered Munich to be called, and ſaid to him, "Field-marſhal, I perceive that I was too late in following your advice; but you ſee to what extremities I am reduced. You, who have eſcaped from ſo many dangers, tell me, I beſeech you, what I ought to do." — "Proceed immediately to join the ſquadron at Reval," returned Munich; "there take a ſhip, go on to Pomerania, put yourſelf at the head of your army, return to Ruſſia, and I promiſe you, that in ſix weeks Peterſburg and all the reſt of the empire will be in ſubjection to you."

The women and the courtiers, as if they had come to an agreement to ruin the unfortunate Peter, began directly to cry out, that the rowers would never have ſtrength enough to reach Reval,

Reval*. "Well then," replied Munich, "we "will all row with them." But ſuch generous counſel could not be agreeable to this timid or treacherous court. They ſhuddered at it. They ſeemed to try which ſhould be moſt eager in aſſuring the emperor that his danger was not ſo great as he imagined; that Catharine only wanted to come to an accommodation with him, and that it was far better to negotiate than to fight. The imbecil prince, whoſe greateſt misfortune it ever had been not to be able to reſolve on the courageous ſide, yielded to theſe repreſentations, and gave orders to the pilot to make for Oranienbaum.

It was four in the morning when they reached that place. Some of the emperor's domeſtics, in great alarm, came to receive him. He commanded them not to divulge the news of his return, ſhut himſelf up in his apartment, ſtrictly forbidding any perſon to be admitted, and ſecretly wrote to the empreſs.

At ten o'clock he came out with a countenance tolerably calm and ſerene. Thoſe of his holſtein guards who were come back to Oranienbaum, ran and ſurrounded him, ſhedding tears of af-

* The ancient town of Reval, with its harbour and fort, is ſituate on the gulf of Finland, 59° 26′ 22″ N. L. and 42° 27′ 30″ long. diſtant 340 verſts from St. Peterſburg.

fection and joy. They kiſſed his hands, they embraced his knees, they preſſed him to march them againſt the army of the empreſs, and ſolemnly ſwore that they were all to a man ready to ſacrifice their lives in defence of his. Old Munich once more tried what influence he might have upon Peter, and ſeized this occaſion for exhorting him to make a courageous ſtand in his own defence. "Come," ſaid he, "march "againſt the rebels. I will go before you, "and their ſwords ſhall not reach you till they "have pierced my body." But the perſuaſion of Munich had no more effect on the tzar than the noble devotedneſs of his holſtein troops.

While all this was tranſacting, the empreſs, at the head of her army, had come to a halt at Kraſnoë-kabac, a ſmall public-houſe by the road-ſide*, exactly eight verſts from Peterſburg,

* Kraſnoë-kabac is rather a better ſort of public-houſe, frequented chiefly for little ſundry excurſions, by the tradeſmen of the town, particularly the Germans. A billiard-room is on one hand of the door, and on the other an ordinary parlour; into the latter the empreſs with princeſs Daſhkoff entered: and here (the old landlady, who died about a dozen years ago, has often related) they ordered a ſmall fire to be lighted, and employed themſelves a conſiderable time in burning a great ſtore of letters and papers. Kraſnoë ſignifies *red*, and kabac, a public-houſe: the houſe is painted all over red.

and

and had turned into the firſt room, where ſhe repoſed for ſome hours, on the cloaks which the officers of her ſuite had made for her into a bed. At break of day, Gregory Orloff, with a few determined volunteers, had been to reconnoitre the environs of Peterhof, and finding there only ſome peaſants armed with ſcythes, who had been collected the preceding evening, he diſperſed them by blows with the flat of his ſabre, and made them join him in the cries of "Long live the empreſs!" At five in the morning, Catharine got again on horſeback, and rode to the monaſtery of St. Sergius*, near Strelna, where ſhe made a ſecond halt.

The empreſs was ſtill there when ſhe received the letter from the tzar, in which he told her that he acknowledged his miſconduct, and propoſed to ſhare the ſovereign authority with her. But Catharine returned him no anſwer, detained the meſſenger, and preſently after ſet out again.

Peter now learning that the empreſs was approaching, ordered one of his horſes to be ſaddled, in the deſign of eſcaping, alone and diſ-

* Svetotroïtſkaia Sergiye ſkaia puſtinæ, the holy-trinity hermitage of St. Sergius, is a ſmall monaſtery, ſubſtantially built of brick, ſurrounded by a quadrangular cloiſter, incloſing a church and three chapels, it is 16 verſts from St. Peterſburg, and has now but few monks.

guiſed,

guiſed, towards the frontiers of Poland. But, always puſillanimous, always irreſolute, he ſhortly after gave orders to diſmantle his little fortreſs at Oranienbaum, in order to convince Catharine that he intended to make no reſiſtance; and wrote to her a ſecond letter, imploring her mercy and aſking her pardon in the moſt humiliating expreſſions. He aſſured her at the ſame time that he would reſign to her the crown of Ruſſia, and petitioned her only to grant him a penſion, with liberty to retire into Holſtein.

Catharine deigned no more to reply to this letter than ſhe had done to the former; but after having converſed ſome time with the chamberlain Iſmaïloff, who had brought it, and whom ſhe eaſily perſuaded to betray his maſter, ſhe ſent him back to the tzar to determine him to ſubmit unconditionally to her will.

Iſmaïloff returned to Oranienbaum, attended by a ſingle ſervant. The tzar had then with him his holſtein guard, conſiſting of 600 men. Theſe he ordered to keep at a diſtance, and ſhut himſelf up with the chamberlain, who exhorted him to abandon his troops and to repair to the empreſs, aſſuring him that he would be well received, and would obtain of her all that he wiſhed. Peter heſitated for ſome time: but Iſmaïloff telling him that he muſt make no

delay,

delay, for that his life was in danger, he followed the advice of this traitor. Iſmaïloff then helped him into a carriage with Romanovna Vorontzoff and Gudovitch, and they took the road of Peterhof.

The unfortunate tzar thought that ſo much reſignation might move the heart of Catharine. He was preſently undeceived. When the carriage in which he rode paſſed through the army, the kozaks whom the emperor firſt met, and who had never ſeen him, kept a mournful ſilence; he himſelf felt a lively emotion: then the reiterated vociferations of "Long live Catharine!" completed his deſpondency.

On ſtepping out of the carriage, his miſtreſs was carried off by the ſoldiers, who tore off her riband *, with which princeſs Daſhkoff, her ſiſter, was almoſt inſtantly decorated. His general aide-de-camp Gudovitch was likewiſe inſulted; but he preſerved the utmoſt tranquillity of mind, and in a dignified manner reproached the rebels with their inſolence and treaſon.

The tzar was led up the grand ſtaircaſe. There the attendants ſtripped him of the marks of his order; they took off his clothes; and, on ranſacking the pockets, found ſeveral dia-

* It has been pretended by ſome perſons, that it was princeſs Daſhkoff herſelf that pulled it off.

monds

monds and pieces of jewellery. After having remained there ſome time in his ſhirt, and barefoot, a butt to the outrages of an inſolent ſoldiery, they threw over him an old morning-gown, and ſhut him up alone in a room, with a guard at the door.

Count Panin, being ſent by the empreſs, was admitted to the tzar, and had a long conference with him. He told him that her majeſty would not long keep him in confinement, but ſend him into Holſtein according to his own requeſt. To this promiſe he added ſeveral others, probably without the deſign of keeping any. He concluded his viſit by making him write and ſign the following declaration:

" During the ſhort ſpace of my abſolute reign over the " empire of Ruſſia, I became ſenſible that I was not able " to ſupport ſo great a burden, and that my abilities were " not equal to the taſk of governing ſo great an empire, " either as a ſovereign, or in any other capacity whatever. " I alſo foreſaw the great troubles which muſt thence " have ariſen, and have been followed with the total ruin " of the empire, and my own eternal diſgrace. After " having therefore ſeriouſly reflected thereon, I declare, " without conſtraint, and in the moſt ſolemn manner, to " the ruſſian empire, and to the whole univerſe, that I for " ever renounce the government of the ſaid empire, never " deſiring hereafter to reign therein, either as an abſolute " ſovereign, or under any other form of government; " never wiſhing to aſpire thereto, to uſe any means, of any " ſort, for that purpoſe. As a pledge of which, I ſwear " ſincerely,

" ſincerely, before God and all the world, to this preſent " renunciation, written and ſigned this 29th of June O. S. " 1762."

Thus, not ſatisfied with depriving him of his crown, it was thought fit to make him the murderer of his own reputation; and this unfortunate prince, moved with the vain hope of life, ſigned this paper declaring his conviction of his inability to govern the empire, either as a ſovereign, or in any other capacity, and his ſenſe of the diſtreſs in which his continuing at the head of affairs would inevitably involve it.

Having obtained this fatal act, count Panin left him; and Peter ſeemed to enjoy a greater compoſure of mind. In the evening, however, an officer, with a ſtrong eſcort, came and conveyed him a priſoner to Ropſcha, a ſmall imperial palace, at the diſtance of about 20 verſts from Peterhof.

Thus was a revolution of ſuch immenſe importance effected in one day, and without ſhedding a ſingle drop of blood. The unfortunate emperor enjoyed the power, of which he had made ſo imprudent and impolitic an uſe, no longer than ſix months. His wife, without any hereditary title, was ſovereign miſtreſs of the ruſſian empire; and the moſt abſolute power on earth was now held by an elective monarch.

Immediately

Immediately on this revolution a number of manifeſtoes appeared, in which the conduct of the late tzar was ſeverely condemned, the weakneſs of his perſonal character expoſed, and deſigns of the blackeſt kind, even that of murdering his conſort, attributed to him. Thoſe manifeſtoes at the ſame time were filled with the ſtrongeſt declarations of affection from the empreſs to the ſubjects of Ruſſia, of regard to their intereſts, and of attachment to their religion; and they are all filled with ſuch unaffected and fervent ſtrains of piety, as muſt needs prove extremely edifying to thoſe who are acquainted with the ſentiments of pure religion, by which great princes are generally animated on occaſions of this nature.

In the mean time Peterſburg had been, ſince the preceding day, in a ſtate of uncertainty and expectation. Nobody had yet come with intelligence of Catharine's ſucceſſes. Peter III. had ſtill ſome friends in that city; and if he had had force enough to attack and repulſe the rebels, its inhabitants would have received him with eagerneſs, as the means of appeaſing his reſentment. The foreign merchants, who live there in great numbers, dreaded above all things the fury of the ruſſian ſoldiers, who perhaps, by plundering their houſes and abuſing their perſons, would have thought they acted meritoriouſly

ritoriouſly in the opinion of the emperor. Accordingly many of them haſtily conveyed their moſt valuable effects on board the veſſels belonging to their nation, and at the ſame time kept in readineſs to embark themſelves. Towards evening the noiſe of cannon that was heard from a diſtance, ſpread a ſudden alarm throughout the city; but it was ſoon remarked, that theſe firings, being heard at regular intervals, and the tzar ſending no one to ſecure Peterſburg, this noiſe could only announce the victory of the empreſs. Tranquillity was thenceforward reſtored, and hope took place of fear.

Catharine ſlept that night at Peterhof, no longer as a captive, but as abſolute ſovereign. The day following, ſhe received at her levée the homages of the principal nobility, who had joined her the foregoing evening, and thoſe of the courtiers and young women who came from Oranienbaum. Among theſe were, the father, the brother, and ſeveral other relations of princeſs Daſhkoff, who, on beholding them proſtrate before the empreſs, ſaid, "Madam, pardon my family. You "know that I have ſacrificed it to you." Catharine commanded them to riſe, and gave them her hand to kiſs.

Marſhal Munich alſo preſented himſelf before her, to whom, as ſoon as her majeſty perceived

him, ſhe called aloud:—"Feldt-mareſhal, it was "you then who wanted to fight me?"—"Yes, "madam," anſwered Munich, in a firm and manly tone; "could I do leſs for the prince "who delivered me from captivity? But it is "henceforward my duty to fight for you; and "you will find in me a fidelity equal to that "with which I had devoted my ſervices to "him."

In the afternoon, Catharine returned to Peterſburg. Her entry was truly triumphant. She was on horſeback, preceded or followed by the chiefs of the conſpiracy. The whole army was crowned with wreaths of oak; the ſhouts of joy and the applauſes of the populace mingled with thoſe of the ſoldiers. The crowd formed into lines for the empreſs, and ſhe condeſcendingly gave them her hand to kiſs, as ſhe paſſed along. A great number of prieſts were aſſembled on the occaſion about the avenues of the palace: as ſhe rode through their ranks, ſhe ſtooped down to ſalute the cheeks of the principal clergy, while they were kiſſing her hand; a cuſtom prevalent in that country, and is ſignificant of the higheſt reſpect.

For ſome days after her return to the imperial reſidence, her majeſty continued to ſhew herſelf to the multitude with great condeſcenſion.

ſcenſion. She knew how eaſy it is to gain the applauſes of the public: ſhe went to the ſenate, and heard ſeveral cauſes tried before her. She then held her court with a graceful and eaſy dignity, that effaced the remembrance of the ſudden revolution that had juſt placed her on the throne. The foreign miniſters had audiences of congratulation; and ſhe received them with a particular addreſs to each in the moſt flattering terms.

Her firſt care was to have prince Ivan conveyed from the houſe where he was concealed, and to ſend him back to Schluſſelburg. She next proceeded to beſtow magnificent rewards on the principal actors in the revolt. Nikita Ivanovitch Panin was made prime miniſter; the Orloffs received the title of count; and the favourite Gregory Orloff was appointed lieutenant-general of the ruſſian armies, and chevalier of St. Alexander Neſſky, the ſecond order of the empire. Several officers of the guards were promoted. Four-and-twenty of them obtained conſiderable eſtates, with ſome thouſands of boors. The finances were inſufficient to give any thing to the ſoldiers but brandy and beer: they were diſtributed among them; and Catharine behaved to them with the greateſt affability. At times ſhe even put herſelf under

conſtraint in order not to diſoblige them. Three days ſubſequent to the revolution a drunken ſoldier dreamed that the empreſs was carried off. He roſe up, ran about the barracks, every where ſpreading alarm, crying out, that the Holſteiners and the Pruſſians had got poſſeſſion of the empreſs. The regiment immediately took up arms, ran to the palace, and loudly inſiſted on ſeeing her majeſty. The hetman Razumoffſky, having learned the cauſe of this tumult, appeared at a window, aſſured them that the empreſs was not carried off, and that after the diſturbances and fatigues ſhe had undergone for ſome days, ſhe was now repoſing in peace and ſecurity. But the ſoldiers refuſed to believe him, and began to renew their clamours with redoubled violence. The hetman now went to the chamber of the ſovereign, cauſed her to be awaked; and praying her not to be frightened; "You know that "I am frightened at nothing," anſwered ſhe boldly: "but what is the matter?" — "The "ſoldiers imagine that you are not here: they "inſiſt upon ſeeing you," returned Razumoffſky. "Well, they muſt be ſatisfied," replied ſhe; and immediately roſe up, dreſſed herſelf, called for her carriage, with orders to drive to the kaſanſkoi church. On her way the ſoldiers ſurrounded her carriage, interrogating each other:

"Is

" Is that indeed the empreſs? Is that indeed our " mother?" Being come to the church, Catharine ſhewed herſelf to them, harangued them, thanked them for their ſollicitude, and diſmiſſed them highly ſatisfied.

She made a point of ſhewing clemency towards the officers and the friends of the emperor; and if any of them were forbid the court, not one was deprived of his property or his life. Only Gudovitch, the aide-de-camp-general, Volkoff, and Milganoff, were impriſoned. Counteſs Vorontzoff, who at firſt had been treated rudely by the ſoldiers, was ſent to the houſe of the ſenator her father; and the empreſs expreſsly forbad a repetition of the like affronts. She was afterwards exiled for ſome time to a village 1000 verſts beyond Moſco.

All the courtiers now eagerly preſſed about the ſovereign. They endeavoured to diſcover on whom her favour would alight: every one flattering himſelf that he ſhould obtain the greater ſhare of it, while none ſuſpected that the heart of that princeſs had long been fixed on an officer of humble birth. The firſt marks of diſtinction ſhewn to Gregory Orloff appeared only as the reward of his ſervices, and not the pledges of love. It was princeſs Daſhkoff who diſcovered it the firſt. Jealouſy is more watchful than ambition;

bition; it is especially less discreet; and madame Dashkoff, not satisfied with reproaching Catharine with a choice that degraded her, spread the rumour of it among her friends, and thus brought on her own disgrace. The chiefs of the revolt now learned, with displeasure, that they had been working for a man whom they had always regarded as the instrument of their projects; while the courtiers perceived, that, in the art of intrigue, this man was more expert than themselves.

The most zealous partisans of Catharine were not, however, without uneasiness. Some regiments murmured, and began to repent the part they had acted against their lawful sovereign. The people, who easily pass from rage to compassion, now pitied the fate of this unfortunate prince. They forgot his defects, his caprices, his infirmities, in the recollection of his amiable qualities, and his sad reverse of fortune*. The sailors reproached the guards to their face, that they had sold their master for brandy and beer.

* The ingenious and judicious traveller Mr. Coxe very justly observes, in speaking of this revolution, "that Peter, "notwithstanding his violence and incapacity, possessed several qualifications of a popular nature, and was greatly "beloved by those who had access to his person." See *Coxe's Travels*, vol. iii. p. 43. 8vo. edit.

After

After the firſt tumult of the revolution was over, they now waked as it were out of a profound intoxication: they contemplated what had happened in ſolemn ſilence, and began to conſider whether all was right. Without ſpeaking of the peaceable burghers, who, during the doubtful exploſion, had kept cloſe in their houſes, even a very great number of them who had been exceedingly active in the buſineſs, and loudeſt in their execrations of Peter, were now ſeized with a deep and painful remorſe, and lamented the ſufferings they had brought upon their monarch. But among the guards the ſame ſentiments diſplayed themſelves in a ſtill more violent manner: numbers of the ſoldiers, repenting of their abominable treaſon, for in that light they now beheld their late behaviour, expreſſed their reſentment againſt their accomplices in the moſt intemperate language, and the moſt abuſive terms that reſentment could dictate to vulgar minds: imputing to their ſeductions the crimes into which they had been led, and loading them with reproaches for the compunction they now ſuffered in conſequence of their guilt. From words they proceeded to blows, and even to murder. Though throughout the revolution no blood had hitherto been ſhed, now ſeveral were killed in theſe furious

ſquabbles. The officers repeatedly interpoſed, at the hazard of their perſonal ſafety, to pacify the men, and make them hearken to reaſon; but in vain. Such are the populace in all ages and nations: raſh to perpetrate what their fury ſuggeſts; repentant at the ſight of the miſchief they have done; then prompt in their accuſations againſt others, inſtead of confeſſing their own miſconduct. Nothing was wanting but ſome reſolute leader, to have now replaced Peter III. on the throne, as ſuddenly as but three days ago he had been precipitated from it: the attachment of the common people to him was clearly evinced in the rebellion of Pugatſheff, eleven years after. In ſhort, apprehenſions were entertained of a new inſurrection.

While the public mind was agitated by theſe fears, the news that was brought from Moſco, ſerved only to increaſe the panic. The governor of that capital, being informed of the revolution by the emiſſaries of Catharine, ordered the five regiments that compoſed the garriſon to take to their arms; and after having drawn them up in the great place of the palace of the ancient tzars, he there convoked the people, who flocked together in crowds. That officer then read aloud the ukaſe by which the empreſs announced her acceſſion, and the abdication of her

her ſpouſe *: at the concluſion of which he exclaimed, "Long live the empreſs Catharine "the Second!" But the people and the ſoldiers remained in ſilence. He repeated the ſame cry; the ſame ſilence enſued. No ſound but that of ſullen murmurs was heard. The troops complained that the regiments of the guards had inſolently dared to diſpoſe of the throne. The governor, ſtartled at theſe unexpected expreſſions of diſcontent, called upon the other officers to join him. They cried out together, "Long live the empreſs!" This done, the multitude was diſmiſſed, and the ſoldiers ſent back to their barracks.

No one was more uneaſy at this time than Catharine herſelf. Whether her ſituation be conſidered in a moral or a political light, it muſt have occaſioned her emotions of no common force, eſpecially as ſhe had been ſo ſuddenly and unexpectedly brought into it! She certainly never thought, on coming to Ruſſia, nor, during the firſt years that enſued, ever buſied herſelf in forming deſigns of aſcending the throne as abſolute ſovereign. Generous and amiable by nature, ſhe was true to theſe qualities from her infancy to the day of her death.

* See the appendix at the end of the volume.

Neither a ſelfiſh contempt for all limitations, nor an inordinate thirſt of power, formed any part of her natural character. But this generoſity and amiableneſs of temper gave the young princeſs undoubted pretenſions to happineſs and joy, which, as the conſort of Peter, ſhe ſaw were not anſwered, and of which ſhe was likely to be deprived for the whole of her life. Now, after this firſt ſtep, her proſpect, whichever way ſhe turned, could certainly not be cheerful. If ſhe looked backwards, no pleaſing recollections enlivened the view; if forwards, the ſcene was all darkened with impending clouds. It is well known that, haunted by the ſpectres of the imagination, during this period, even in ſleep ſhe found no repoſe; and that ſeveral times in a night ſhe has quitted her bed, and even her palace.

And what muſt have been the feelings of Peter in his loneſome captivity! It was eaſy to foreſee that his impriſonment, either mediately or immediately, would bring on his death, and ſo it actually happened.

Undoubtedly no great efforts were neceſſary to determine the conſpirators to free themſelves from an object of diſquietude. They who have taken one ſtep in the road of guilt, make no heſitation

ſitation at taking a ſecond, and the death of the unhappy emperor was now decreed.

On his removal from Peterhof, the tzar was ſtill blind to the fate that awaited him. Thinking he ſhould be detained but a ſhort time in priſon, previous to his being ſent into Germany, he ſent a meſſage to Catharine, aſking her to permit him to have the negro who was of ſervice to him by his attachment, and amuſed him with his ſingularities, together with a dog he was fond of, his violin, a bible, and a few romances; at the ſame time telling her, that, diſguſted at the wickedneſs of mankind, he was reſolved henceforward to devote himſelf to a philoſophical life. However reaſonable theſe requeſts, not one of them was granted, and his plans of wiſdom were turned into ridicule. He was conducted to a little imperial retreat at Ropſcha.

Here he had been ſix days without the knowledge of any other perſons than the chiefs of the conſpirators and the ſoldiers by whom he was guarded, when Alexius Orloff, accompanied by an officer named Teploff, came to him with the news of his ſpeedy deliverance, and aſked permiſſion to dine with him. According to the cuſtom of that country, wine-glaſſes and brandy were brought previous to dinner; and while the officer

officer amuſed the tzar with ſome trifling diſcourſe, his chief filled the glaſſes, and poured a poiſonous mixture into that he intended for the prince. The tzar, without any diſtruſt, ſwallowed the potion: on which, he preſently experienced the moſt cruel pains; and on his being offered a ſecond glaſs, on pretence of its giving him relief, he refuſed it, with reproaches on him that offered it.

He called aloud for milk; but the two monſters offered him poiſon again, and preſſed him to take it. A french valet-de-chambre, greatly attached to him, now ran in. Peter threw himſelf into his arms, ſaying, in a faint tone of voice, "It was not enough then to prevent me from "reigning in Sweden, and to deprive me of the "crown of Ruſſia! I muſt alſo be put to "death!"

The valet-de-chambre preſumed to intercede for his maſter; but the two miſcreants forced this dangerous witneſs out of the room, and continued their ill-treatment of the tzar. In the midſt of this tumult the younger of the princes Baratinſky came in, and joined the two former*.

Orloff,

* Her majeſty, from the very firſt, thought it neceſſary to commit ſo important a charge as that of the dethroned emperor,

Orloff, who had already thrown down the emperor, was preſſing upon his breaſt with both his knees, and firmly griping his throat with his hand. The unhappy monarch, now ſtruggling with that ſtrength which ariſes from deſpair, the two other aſſaſſins threw a napkin round his neck, and put an end to his life by ſuffocation*.

Such is the account of the death of Peter III. as circulated in whiſpers at Peterſburg, and which indeed has never been contradicted: whether it be the real manner in which the tzar came by his death is, after all, known only to that Being

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emperor, to the cuſtody of perſons in whom ſhe could place the moſt entire confidence, and who were not liable to corruption, rather than to mercenaries, who are never proof againſt bribery. The three perſons whom ſhe deemed worthy of her confidence on ſo delicate an occaſion, were count Alexius Orloff, brother of prince Gregory, and the two brothers Baratinſky, of whom one was marſhal of the court, and the other was ſince envoy from Ruſſia to the court of France. All the three were living in the year 1797.

* On the 17th of July, juſt one week after the revolution. Theſe particulars are confirmed by the account of a gentleman who was in the confidence of prince Potemkin. It has been falſely pretended that Potemkin was with them. But perſons of great credibility, who were at that time in Ruſſia, aſſert the contrary, and Potemkin always denied the fact with indignation.

to whom the heart is open, and from whom no ſecrets are concealed. The partiſans that might have retained their attachment to him after his fall; the murmurs of the populace, who quietly permit revolutions to be effected, and afterwards lament thoſe who have fallen their victims; the difficulties ariſing from keeping in cuſtody a priſoner of ſuch conſequence; all theſe motives in conjunction tend to give credit to the opinion that ſome hand of uncontrollable authority ſhortened his days. But the conduct of the empreſs before that event, and eſpecially for four-and-thirty years that ſhe afterwards reigned, is of itſelf alone a ſufficient refutation of ſo atrocious a calumny, as would fix the guilt of it on her.

Whatever were the failings and errors of Peter III. it is not here intended to extenuate or defend them; though certainly they were too cruelly puniſhed. Neither ought the good he did to be paſſed over in ſilence. His two ukaſes for aboliſhing the ſecret inquiſition, and for giving liberty to the nobles, muſt for ever ſecure to this prince the grateful acknowledgment of Ruſſia. The *clement** Elizabeth had left

* To what has been above related of that ſovereign, the following may be here ſubjoined: She one day received at her

left in ſubſiſtence a tribunal, before which the firſt perſons of the empire, on the bare depoſition of a villain on the way to execution, were delivered and put to the torture, for extorting the confeſſion of imaginary crimes. Peter III. was dethroned; his name was never honoured with ſo flattering an epithet; and yet it was he who ſuppreſſed that tribunal. This prince was kind, humane, and beloved of all who compoſed his more intimate circle: this is aſſerted on the affirmation of many Ruſſians who were attached to his perſon*. He recalled all the exiles that were

her toilet a lady of the court, who with great difficulty continued ſtanding. Elizabeth at laſt perceived her uneaſineſs, and aſked what was the matter with her. "My legs "are very much ſwelled." — "Well, well, lean againſt "that bureau; I will make as if I did not ſee you." This was truly characteriſtic. The ſame princeſs would not permit any lady to wear, not only the ſame ſtuffs that ſhe had choſen, but the ſame patterns: a lady *ſtill living* in 1792, and very well known, ventured to infringe this prohibition. Her boldneſs had like to have coſt her dear; and ſo much the more as ſhe had already incurred the indignation of the *clement* monarch by receiving the french faſhions before her.

* In the juſt tribute of praiſe we have more than once taken occaſion to pay to the memory of the unfortunate Peter, we are pleaſed with having the concurrence of the author

were lingering out their lives in Siberia (excepting Beſtucheff); and it muſt have been a ſpectacle curious enough to ſee Biren and Munich together; the former embarraſſed, confounded, not daring to lift up his eyes, dreading to meet thoſe of the ſon or the brother of ſome unfortunate wretch who had been aſſaſſinated or baniſhed by his command; Munich, on the other hand, forming the moſt perfect contraſt with him. Fourſcore years of his life elapſed, twenty of them paſſed in exile in the frightful waſtes of Siberia, had not depreſſed that firm and generous ſoul: — at the head of armies, — condemned to death, — in frozen deſerts, — recalled to court, and reinſtated in all his employ-

author of a late publication, who, after expreſſing his indignation at ſome writers ſo contemptible as to traduce the memory of this unfortunate ſovereign, adds, "that he was "a victim to the undeſigning openneſs and integrity of his "heart; a prince, whoſe anſwer to the precautions which "were recommended to him by the king of Pruſſia was, "*I do good to all the world, and with that what have I to* "*fear?* a prince, who was the benefactor of his country, "and whoſe laws (thoſe very laws which were brought in "accuſation againſt him as crimes) have been religiouſly "obſerved as models of wiſdom and humanity, and without "which the reign of the empreſs would have been leſs "glorious, and her people leſs happy." — Survey of the Turkiſh Empire, p. 445.

ments, Munich was every where the ſame; he ever preſerved that unalterable ſerenity, that energy of character, which fall to the lot of ſo very few*.

Had the emperor, during the ſix months of his reign, done no more than iſſue thoſe two decrees juſt mentioned, he would have been entitled to rank with thoſe ſovereigns who have a juſt claim on the gratitude of their ſubjects. The freedom of the nobility is undoubtedly the firſt ſtep to civilization. That indiſpenſable preliminary had eſcaped the attention of Peter the great: it was by this that he ought to have begun his work, and it is to be regretted that the ruſſian legiſlator failed of perceiving the abſolute neceſſity of it. The ſeizure of the poſſeſſions of the church was one of the cauſes of the public diſcontent; but what ſhews that the act was far from being bad in itſelf, is, that the empreſs never thought it expedient to reſtore them: the odium did not fall upon her; the fault being committed, ſhe had the addreſs to profit by it.

Alexèy Orloff immediately mounted his horſe, and rode full ſpeed to inform the empreſs that

* Field-marſhal Munich obtained the government of Eſthonia and Livonia, and died three years afterwards at Riga, at the age of 85.

Peter

Peter III. had breathed his laſt. It was at the inſtant when her majeſty was going to make her appearance at court. She appeared with a tranquil air; and afterwards ſhut herſelf up with Orloff, Panin, Razumoffſky, Gleboff, and ſome other confidential perſons, to deliberate whether the ſenate and people ſhould be immediately made acquainted with the death of the emperor, or whether it might not be more adviſable to wait for that purpoſe till the enſuing day. The latter was determined. Catharine dined in public as uſual, and in the evening held a court.

The next day the news of the emperor's death was communicated to the public at large, while her majeſty was at table. At that inſtant ſhe roſe from her ſeat with her eyes full of tears. She diſmiſſed the courtiers and the foreign miniſters, ran and ſhut herſelf in her apartment, and for ſeveral days together ſhewed marks of the profoundeſt grief. During this time the following declaration was publiſhed on the part of the empreſs:

"By the grace of God, Catharine II. empreſs and autocratrix of all the Ruſſias, to all our loving ſubjects, &c. greeting:

"The ſeventh day after our acceſſion to the throne of all the Ruſſias, we received information that the late emperor Peter III. by the means of a bloody accident in his hinder parts, commonly called piles, to which he had been

" been formerly ſubject, was attacked with a moſt violent " griping colic. That therefore we might not be wanting " in chriſtian duty, nor diſobedient to the divine command, " by which we are enjoined to preſerve the life of our " neighbour, we immediately ordered that the ſaid Peter " ſhould be furniſhed with every thing that might be judged " neceſſary to prevent the dangerous conſequences of that " accident, and to reſtore his health by the aids of me- " dicine. But, to our great regret and affliction, we were " yeſterday evening appriſed, that, by the permiſſion of the " Almighty, the late emperor departed this life. We have " therefore ordered his body to be conveyed to the monaſtery " of Nefsky, in order to its interment in that place. At " the ſame time, with our imperial and maternal voice, we " exhort our faithful ſubjects to forgive and forget what is " paſt, to pay the laſt duties to his body, and to pray to " God ſincerely for the repoſe of his ſoul; willing them " however to conſider this unexpected and ſudden death " as an eſpecial effect of the providence of God, whoſe " impenetrable decrees are working for us, for our throne, " and for our country, things known only to his holy will.

" Done at St. Peterſburg, July $\frac{17}{28}$, 1762."

The body of the unfortunate Peter III. was brought to Peterſburg, and expoſed for three days in the church of the monaſtery of St. Alexander Nefsky. The body lay in an open coffin, dreſſed in his holſtein uniform, and perſons of all ranks and conditions were admitted, as uſual in that country, to kiſs the hand of the deceaſed*;

* His face, it is ſaid, was become quite black; extravaſated blood was ſeen to ooze through the epidermis which penetrated even the gloves which had been put on his hands;

and he was buried on the 21ſt, exactly the very day which he had fixed for his departure on the expedition againſt Denmark. His remains were depoſited in a grave in the ſpace before the rails of the altar, adjacent to that of the depoſed regent Anne, the mother of the dethroned infant Ivan; and the place of his ſepulture was diſtinguiſhed with neither tomb nor inſcription. Peter had never been crowned, he had reſigned the reins of empire. No court beſide that of Sweden went into mourning for him.

The day of his interment was a day of trouble and deſolation for Peterſburg. The populace that thronged to the funeral were very abuſive to the ſoldiers of the guards, reproaching them with having baſely ſhed the laſt drop of the blood of Peter the great.

The holſtein ſoldiers, who had hitherto remained at Oranienbaum, at liberty, but diſarmed,

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and the poiſon which the tzar had been forced to ſwallow muſt have been exceedingly violent, as all thoſe who had the lamentable courage to lay their mouth to his, returned with ſwelled lips. The counſellors of Catharine knew well enough that ſuch dreadful intimations might lead to a diſcovery of the means that had been employed for ſhortening the days of the unfortunate monarch, but they thought themſelves leſs intereſted in ſaving appearances than in preventing the agitations which would have infallibly taken place if the people had imagined that the tzar was ſtill alive.

reſorted

reſorted to theſe ſorrowful obſequies; and, weeping, ſurrounded the corpſe of their maſter. The Ruſſians, no longer beholding them as preferred rivals, but as faithful ſervants, took part in their grief.

The following day orders were ſent down to embark theſe Holſteiners for their own country. They were put on board a veſſel, which unhappily foundered ſoon after quitting the port of Cronſtadt; numbers of them were ſeen clinging about the rocks above the water's level, where they were ſuffered to periſh, while admiral Taliezin had diſpatched a meſſenger to Peterſburg to know whether he might be permitted to afford them relief.

Prince George, whom Peter III. had conſtituted duke of Courland, was obliged to renounce that title: but the empreſs compenſated this loſs by committing to him the adminiſtration of Holſtein, whither he went with the reſt of his family; and where he ever after ſerved Catharine with fidelity and zeal.

The chancellor Beſtucheff, who had been the moſt inveterate enemy of Peter, was recalled from his exile*. Prince Volkonſky and

* For the declaration publiſhed by the empreſs ſhortly after the recal of Beſtucheff is too remarkable to be forgotten. Some portions of it are therefore inſerted in the appendix at the end of the volume.

lieutenant Kaliſhkin were ſent off to him, who brought him to Peterſburg. Catharine reſtored to him his rank of field-marſhal, and his place in the council, beſides ſettling upon him an annual penſion of 20,000 rubles, and diſpenſing him from employment on account of his great age. Several other exiles and priſoners were on this occaſion ſet free, but neither Ivan nor any of his family. It was now a kind of reſurrection at Peterſburg, when ſo many perſons who had ſo long been ſeparated from their acquaintance, forgotten by the world, and buried in the deſerts of Siberia, again appeared about the town; and theſe apparitions had a farther ſimilitude with the future life, as perſons who had reciprocally cruſhed ſuch as ſtood in their way, and then, by a ſingular retaliation of fortune, had afterwards ſuffered the like treatment from others, now met here together in reconcilement and peace. Count Munich, in 1740, had occaſioned duke Biren to be impriſoned and baniſhed; nay, even ſketched out the plan of the houſe for his confinement at Pelim: one year after this, the count came himſelf as an exile to the ſame place, and was ſhut up in that houſe, which he certainly never thought he was building for himſelf, and from which the duke was removed to a more comfortable

fortable abode. Their firſt meeting afterwards was in the preſence of Peter III. who recalled them both; Munich being then 79, and Biren 72 years of age. Catharine completed the boon to the latter, by reinſtating him in his dukedom of Courland, as has been before obſerved *. Beſtucheff had overthrown Leſtok, his patron and promoter, and was afterwards himſelf ſent to ſhare the ſame fate: theſe likewiſe now found themſelves here together, and likewiſe with paſſions much abated of their violence. Leſtok was 70 when Peter recalled him; but Catharine firſt gave him a yearly allowance: the former chancellor of the empire ſhe now preſented with his freedom and dignities in his 69th year, and raiſed him to the poſt of general field-marſhal. In that capacity he ſtood on the right hand of her throne at her coronation, during the public dinner, where the empreſs ſat alone at table †.

Biren,

* It may farther be remarked, that the independent ſovereignty of Wurtenberg in Sileſia, which Biren poſſeſſed, on his baniſhment reverted to Munich. They now compromiſed the affair, under the mediation of Catharine, in ſuch manner, that the latter, for a conſiderable ſum of money, fully made over the ſovereignty to the former; to whoſe ſon, the duke having been again depoſed by Catharine, it belonged at the time of her death.

† Beſtucheff, ſome months after his return, publiſhed a book of devotion, which, during his exile, he had compiled

Biren, who, more exaſperated that Peter III. had not reinſtated him in his duchy, than grateful for the liberty to which he had juſt reſtored him, had joined himſelf to the triumphant party, and had occaſionally enlightened it by his experience; Biren took the road to Courland, where he was without difficulty reinveſted with his former authority, and where he favoured, to the utmoſt of his power, the views which Catharine had already formed on Poland.

To complete the picture of this man, who, after having devoted himſelf to the commiſſion of the moſt horrible cruelties, aſſumed a lenity which he carried even to weakneſs, and who united in his conduct the extremes of ſervility and a ridiculous vanity, it will be neceſſary to mention the manner in which he took leave of Catharine. Falling on his knees before her, in preſence of the whole court, he addreſſed her in theſe terms:

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of various paſſages, from the Pſalms and other parts of the Bible. He afterwards cauſed a medal to be ſtruck, on one ſide repreſenting his buſt, with the legend: Alexius comes à Beſtucheff Riumin, imp. Ruſſ. olim cancellar. nunc ſenior, &c. On the other is a coffin, with his eſcutcheon, orange trees, palm trees, fortitude, conſtancy. Over the coffin: Tertio triumphat; and in the exergue: Poſt duos in vita de inimicis triumphos, de morte triumphat. He died at St. Peterſburg, April 21, 1766.

" Moſt

" Moſt illuſtrious and moſt puiſſant empreſs: " moſt gracious ſovereign and great lady! — Is " it poſſible to conceive of a magnanimity and " clemency equal to thoſe which your imperial " majeſty has diſplayed towards me and my fa- " mily? A prince without liberty, without do- " mains, without aſſiſtance, without ſupport, is " all at once ſurrounded with theſe ſeveral ad- " vantages of which he had been deprived by a " ſucceſſion of misfortunes for a long ſeries of " years. I am indebted for theſe advantages " to that love of juſtice which fills the throne in " the perſon of your imperial majeſty, and which " has juſt broke the plot which iniquity and vio- " lence have been ſo artfully labouring to com- " plete.

" What can I do for properly acknowledging " this grace and theſe bounties? All my facul- " ties in conjunction with thoſe of my family are " inſufficient to that end; and I ſhould be in- " conſolable if I were not perſuaded that your " benevolence acquits thoſe who have nothing " to offer but gratitude and ſubmiſſion. Theſe " are the two ſentiments which I ſhall carry with " me to the grave, and which I ſhall inceſſantly " inculcate on all that belong to me.—With the " moſt humble proſtrations then, at the feet of " your imperial majeſty, I promiſe you a grati-

"tude and ſubmiſſion without limitation, and I "preſume to intreat you graciouſly to ſhew to "me and to mine your powerful protection *."

The news of the revolution was ſoon univerſally ſpread; and this great change in the government of Ruſſia, it was univerſally feared, would be followed by a total change of ſyſtem with regard to foreign affairs. The peace and alliance with the king of Pruſſia were very unpopular meaſures in that empire. It was not probable that the cloſe and intimate connection which had ſubſiſted between the king of Pruſſia and the late tzar, could greatly recommend him to the ſucceſſor. And as it was imagined that this revolution muſt have been in a great degree owing to the machinations of thoſe courts, whom the tzar had irritated by withdrawing from their alliance, there was the greater reaſon to apprehend that the power, which was now ſet up, would be exerted in their favour.

There were alſo great advantages on the ſide of Ruſſia, if the empreſs ſhould not hold the peace concluded by her late huſband to be binding on her, as none of the conqueſts were at this

* Although Biren well knew that he was the ſon of a couriſh peaſant, he had taken the name and the arms of the Birons of France, deſirous of paſſing for a deſcendant of that houſe.

time

time evacuated. Every thing ſeemed to conſpire towards plunging the king of Pruſſia into the abyſs of his former diſtreſſes, after he had emerged from them, only for ſuch a time, and in ſuch a manner, as to make them more bitter and inſupportable.

Fortunately, however, for this wonderful man the empreſs, who had come to the Ruſſian throne in the extraordinary manner that we have ſeen, could not look upon herſelf as ſufficiently ſecure to undertake again a war of ſo much importance as that which had been juſt concluded. It was neceſſary, for ſome time at leaſt, that ſhe ſhould confine her attention ſolely to her own ſafety. Therefore it was expedient to collect, within itſelf, all the force of the empire, in order to oppoſe it to the deſigns of the many malecontents, with which that empire always abounds, and who, though not attached to the intereſt of the late tzar, and little inclined to revenge his fate, would find now both inducement and opportunity for raiſing troubles and attempting new changes. Very plauſible pretences for ſuch attempts exiſted from the time of Peter the great; who, whilſt he improved and ſtrengthened his kingdom, left in it, at the ſame time, the ſeeds of civil wars and revolutions.

Theſe

These considerations, whatever her desires might be, induced the tzarina to continue so much of the system of her predecessor, as coincided with her situation. She therefore declared to the king of Prussia's ministers, "that she was "resolved to observe inviolably, in all points, "the perpetual peace concluded under the pre- "ceding reign; that nevertheless she had thought "proper to bring back to Russia, by the nearest "roads, all her troops in Silesia, Prussia, and "Pomerania."

It was not the critical situation alone of the tzarina which produced this moderation; the prudent behaviour of his prussian majesty, during the time of his connection with the late tzar, had a considerable share in reconciling the mind of this empress to him, and of perpetuating something like the same friendship, with interests so very different.

On the 21st of July, the orders arrived at the allied camp from Petersburg for the Russians to separate themselves from his army, and return without delay to their own country.

None of the sovereigns of Europe were ignorant of the steps by which Catharine had mounted the throne; but they made no hesitation in acknowledging her title. Some of them even

teſtified their joy on the occaſion: their joy, however, was not of long duration.

Maria Thereſa at firſt thought, that the Ruſſians, abandoning the pruſſian ſtandards, would unite their arms with hers, to enable her once more to give laws to Frederic. Maria Thereſa was deceived; and ſhortly after ſaw, with equal aſtoniſhment and diſpleaſure, Catharine not only ordering her troops to evacuate Pruſſia, but confirming the peace concluded by the tzar.

Lewis XV. alſo flattered himſelf that the careſſes with which Catharine had diſtinguiſhed his ambaſſador, while ſhe was no more than grand ducheſs, were pledges of her attachment to France. But, no ſooner was ſhe ſeated on the throne, than, while indulging her taſte for french literature *, ſhe manifeſted her contempt and averſion for the court of Verſailles †. Her unfortunate

* She was a great admirer of the french writers, and eſpecially the tragic poets. Catharine alſo manifeſted a high eſteem for the philoſophers. She wrote to d'Alembert, offering him a ſalary of 50,000 rubles, if he would come to Peterſburg to finiſh the Encyclopedie, and take upon him the charge of the education of the grand duke Paul Petrovitch. D'Alembert declined the offer. See the Appendix at the end of the volume.

† Catharine could never forgive the duc de Choiſeul for patronizing the work of the abbé Chappe d'Auteroche, and ſhe even complained of it not a long time before her death; againſt

unfortunate huſband ſeemed in this reſpect alſo to have ſerved her for a model.

The monarch who formed the beſt judgment of her character was the king of Pruſſia *. That prince,

againſt which work, in conjunction with Peter Ivanovitch Schuvaloff, ſhe wrote "The Antidote," which was miſerably tranſlated into engliſh by a lady.

* The king of Pruſſia wrote thus to count Finkenſtein, one of his favourites: — "The emperor of Ruſſia has been "dethroned by his conſort: it was to be expected. That "princeſs has much good ſenſe and the ſame inclinations as "the defunct. She has no religion, but acts the devotee. "It is the ſecond volume of Zeno, the greek emperor, of "his wife Adriana, and of Mary de Medicis. The late "chancellor Beſtucheff was her greateſt favourite; and as "he has a ſtrong propenſity to guineas, I flatter myſelf "that the attachments of the preſent period will be the "ſame. The poor emperor wanted to imitate Peter I. "but he had not the capacity for it." This letter was certainly not intended to ſee the light: and it is curious enough to put it in parallel with what its author, that grand comedian Frederic, wrote for the public in his "Hiſtory of "the Seven-years War." — "The king," ſays he, "had "cultivated the friendſhip of the grand duke, at the time "when he was only duke of Holſtein; and from a ſenſibility "rarely found among mankind, more rarely ſtill among "kings, that prince, in return, preſerved a grateful heart: "he even gave marks of it in that war; for it was he who "moſt contributed to the retreat of general Apraxin, in "1757; when, after having beaten general Lewald, he fell "back into Poland. During all theſe troubles, that prince "even

prince, having long foreſeen the bold attempt by which ſhe obtained the crown, repeatedly wrote to his miniſter Goltz, that, ſince Peter III. was reſolutely bent on his own deſtruction, it was adviſable for him to turn to the ſide of Catharine. Accordingly baron Goltz, the aſſiduous companion and flatterer of the pleaſures of the tzar, was one of the firſt to abandon him the moment his affairs were ſeen to take a diſaſtrous turn, and received from Catharine the moſt gracious reception.

The empreſs likewiſe received with diſtinction the envoy of Copenhagen, and gave the king of Denmark aſſurances that he might make himſelf eaſy on the ſubject of Holſtein, it being her intention always to keep up a good underſtanding with him.

" even abſtained from going to council, where he had a ſeat, " in order not to participate in the meaſures which the em- " preſs was taking againſt Pruſſia, and which he diſap- " proved.....The king acted with the emperor not " as one ſovereign with another, but with that cordiality " which friendſhip demands, and which is the greateſt " bleſſing of it. The virtues of Peter III. formed an ex- " ception to the rules of policy; it was but right to act the " ſame by him." — *Hiſtoire de la Guerre de ſept Ans*, edit. de Berlin, tom. ii.

Mr.

Mr. Keith, ambaſſador from England, had not exactly the ſame freedom of acceſs to this princeſs as his predeceſſor Williams had formerly had; ſhe treated him however as the miniſter of a friendly power, and took the firſt opportunity to renew the treaty which had long procured the Engliſh almoſt the whole commerce of Ruſſia.

While ſhe was ſecuring peace with the kings of Europe, Catharine neglected nothing for the maintenance of it within the empire. She had more to fear from her own ſubjects than from foreign potentates; ſhe therefore employed herſelf in theſe affairs alternately with art and ſeverity. The court preſently aſſumed a new face. Every thing there was ſubmiſſive to the ſecret will of Gregory Orloff, whoſe influence and haughtineſs were increaſing from day to day, humiliating and irritating the great, and making them ardently deſire his fall. Several of them ventured to ſpeak out, and a reſolution to remove them was the immediate conſequence. But Catharine thought it beſt to diſſemble a while longer, before ſhe openly avenged her favourite, and put the laſt ſeal to the patent of his power.

The ſecond accounts that arrived from Moſco were of a more favourable complexion than the former.

former. Brandy and money, diſtributed judiciouſly by the governor, had worked a great change in the minds of the garriſon. The ſoldiers could not refuſe to acknowledge the ſovereign who ordered them daily ſuch marks of her bounty. Sure of ſucceſs in this quarter, Catharine haſtened her journey to Moſco, for the purpoſe of celebrating her coronation in that ancient capital of the empire. But previous to her departure from St. Peterſburg, ſhe aſſembled the regiments of the guards who had ſeated her on the throne, and gave them further aſſurances of her approbation. She left them under the command of the hetman Razumofſky and prince Volkonſky, beſtowed the government of the city on count Bruce, on whoſe fidelity ſhe could rely, and charged Alexèy Orloff to watch over all with his uſual activity.

The empreſs choſe for her attendants on the journey Gregory Orloff, the old chancellor Beſtucheff, count Stroganoff; in ſhort, the greater part of the nobles who had ſhewn themſelves the moſt devoted to her, as well as thoſe whoſe abſence ſhe had reaſon to dread. Above all, ſhe neglected not to take with her the young grand duke Paul Petrovitch and the principal ladies of the court.

This

This numerous calvalcade made its entrance with pomp into Moſco. But notwithſtanding the money that had been previouſly diſtributed, it was received without any tokens of public welcome, without acclamation. Catharine too eaſily perceived, by this ſolitude and ſilence, that her preſence was diſagreeable to the people. She nevertheleſs repaired to the chapel of the tzars, where ſhe laviſhed her flatteries on the archbiſhop and the popes; and ſhe was crowned in the preſence of the ſoldiery and the people of the court. The crowd, which retired at the approach of the empreſs, ran every where to meet the grand duke, and mingled with the emotions of tenderneſs they felt for the child a viſible concern for the misfortunes of his father. Catharine, diſſatisfied with Moſco, induſtriouſly concealed her chagrin; and attending only to the neceſſary delays, retook the road to Peterſburg.

The number of promotions, preſents, &c. that were made on occaſion of the coronation, and which moſtly fell to the ſhare of her adherents in the late revolution, need not here be particularized. During her ſtay at Moſco ſhe honoured that ancient capital by iſſuing ſeveral proclamations from it; and to flatter the military,

tary, which had been neglected by Peter, ſhe publiſhed a manifeſto; on the day of her coronation, in praiſe of the troops that had fought againſt Pruſſia, and cauſed a half-year's pay to be given to the ſubalterns and common ſoldiers who had been preſent at the victorious battles of Paltzig, or Kai or Zullichau, and at Frankfort or Kunerſdorf. Of each of the four regiments of life-guards, the Préobajenſkoy, Simeonoffky, Iſmaïloffky, and the horſe-guard, the empreſs appointed herſelf colonel. General-adjutant Gregory Orloff was made lieutenant-colonel of the laſt regiment; of the firſt, his brother Alexéy; of the third, Feodor, captain of the Simeonoffky; and the fourth, Vladimir, lieutenant of the Iſmaïloffky guards.

Catharine now put off all conſtraint. The monks, who had long favoured her projects, and to whom ſhe had often promiſed a reſtoration of the poſſeſſions they had been deſpoiled of by her huſband, vainly recalled to her mind their ſervices and her promiſes. She perceived that it would not be prudent to let them reſume an aſcendant which might prove as dangerous as it had been ſerviceable to her; and inſtead of revoking the edict of Peter III. ſhe referred it to the examination of a ſynod, compoſed of perſons

implicitly ſubſervient to her will. The principal members of the clergy were ſecretly brought over; the reſt were ſacrificed; and, animated with ſacred fury, vowed revenge againſt their former patron.

The rage of the prieſts could not fail of having ſome effect. They fanned the embers of ſedition among the populace. They communicated the ſparks of it to ſome ſoldiers. They called to mind their prince Ivan. They diſcovered that he was in St. Peterſburg on the very day of the revolution; to which city Peter III. had myſteriouſly cauſed him to be brought, in the deſign of declaring him his ſucceſſor; and whence Catharine had ſince, not leſs myſteriouſly, had him conveyed; and they openly ſaid, that it was to that unhappy prince that the throne belonged. They did more. They detected and publiſhed a manifeſto, all the copies whereof the care of the friends of Catharine had not been able to ſuppreſs. Peter III. had cauſed it to be drawn up by the ſtate-counſellor Volkoff, and had ſigned it with his hand. In a melancholy mood he had here put together all the weakneſſes and faults of Catharine; and accuſing her of adultery, declared that he would not acknowledge the young grand-duke for his ſon, ſince he was the fruit of the

ſcandalous

ſcandalous commerce of his wife with Soltikoff. This manifeſto *, compoſed with great force and eloquence, was artfully diſperſed among the people, and ſoon found its way among the ſoldiers, who, for the moſt part unable to conceive in what fit of diſtraction they had been drawn into the rebellion, already, as we have obſerved, repented their wickedneſs, or deplored the ſad lot of a prince, miſtaken but not malevolent, weak but not ſtupid; who had been barbarouſly put to death. He whom they lamented ſoon found them his avengers. Every thing ſeemed to portend a new revolution: but Gleboff, Paſſick, Teploff, and their emiſſaries, were not blind to all theſe proceedings. Suddenly an imperial proclamation came forth, forbidding the ſoldiers of the guards from aſſembling without orders received from their officers. Some of the moſt violent were impriſoned, and ſuffered the puniſhment of the knoot; others were baniſhed into Siberia: terror for ſome time kept the reſt in ſilence.

By thus chaſtiſing the regiments of the guards, the empreſs thought ſhe ſhould alſo ſhut the mouths of the prieſts. She refuſed even to temporize with the courtiers who diſpleaſed her,

* Perhaps a forgery of the exaſperated clergy.

and thought they had juſt claims to her gratitude. Ivan Schuvaloff had not only taken part in the conſpiracy; but he had promoted it beforehand by calumniating Peter III. and as ſoon as it broke out, he became its approver and ſupport. By flattering the propenſities of Catharine, he hoped to find that eaſy acceſs with her which the empreſs Elizabeth had offered him. Schuvaloff was miſtaken. He awakened the jealouſy of Orloff; Catharine ſent him word that his preſence was not neceſſary at court *; then, adding deriſion to harſhneſs, ſhe made him a preſent, as the reward of his ſervices, of an old negro, who played the part of a buffoon about the palace †.

The general of artillery, Villebois, who had yielded to a ſentiment of tenderneſs for her rather than follow the line of his duty, now paid the forfeit of his miſtake. Orloff was afraid of his talents, and wanted his employments.

* Peter III. on his acceſſion to the throne, acted with greater lenity towards Ivan Schuvaloff, of whom he had ſo great a right to complain under the reign of Elizabeth. He not only did not forbid him the court, but he made him a preſent of 10,000 imperials in gold, which the chamberlain had juſt received of the dying ſovereign, and which, inſtigated by fear, he ſent to the new emperor.

† It was ſaid to be the ſame negro whom the tzar was deſirous of having with him in priſon.

Villebois

Villebois was diſmiſſed, and the favourite appointed grand maſter of the artillery.

The pretenſions of princeſs Daſhkoff became odious to the empreſs. At the commencement of the revolution, princeſs Daſhkoff had, like Catharine, put on the uniform of the guards, and marched at their head. She had ſacrificed her father, her ſiſter, her whole family, to the elevation of her friend *; in ſome inſtances ſhe had ſacrificed herſelf. All the recompence ſhe aſked was the title of colonel of the regiment of Préobajenſky. But Catharine anſwered her, with an ironical ſmile, that the academy would ſuit her better than a military corps. Princeſs Daſhkoff, cruelly mortified at this reply, gave ſcope to her natural impetuoſity, murmured among her friends of the ingratitude of Catharine, and ſought opportunities for ſhewing her reſentment. The perfidious Odart, who obſerved this alteration in the behaviour of the princeſs, was the firſt to carry an account of it to the empreſs. Princeſs Daſhkoff immediately received orders to retire to Moſco †.

At

* This was the appellation mutually beſtowed on each other by Catharine and princeſs Daſhkoff.

† Here ſhe was delivered of a daughter, afterwards married to M. de Tſcherbinin; a lady of remarkable accom-

At the ſame time Catharine commiſſioned the piedmonteſe Odart to engage the ambaſſador of France to write to Voltaire, cautioning him to be on his guard againſt the vanity of princeſs Daſhkoff, and to tell him, that if he ſhould tranſmit to poſterity the event that had juſt happened in Ruſſia, he need only make mention of this young woman as having acted a very ſecondary part in a revolution, the ſucceſs whereof was owing ſolely to the wiſdom and courage of the empreſs *. The ſame commiſſion was given to her ambaſſadors at London and at Paris †.

The

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pliſhments and the moſt agreeable manners. It is no wonder then if her ſociety was frequented by all men of talents and literature from every court in Europe. After paſſing three or four years in travelling through various parts of Germany and the ſtates of Italy, madame Tſcherbinin afterwards took up her reſidence at Warſaw; but ſince the commencement of the reign of Paul I. ſhe is gone to reſide with her mother at her retirement in the vicinity of Moſco.

* M. de Breteuil rather went beyond his commiſſion, by adding in his letter: "C'eſt pouſſer bien loin la jalouſie & "la hardieſſe d l'ingratitude."

† Upwards of five-and-twenty years after that event, Catharine held the ſame language to a miniſter from a foreign power. It was her earneſt deſire that the hiſtory of her life and reign ſhould have been undertaken by the hiſtorian of Charles V. Various ſuggeſtions were at ſeveral times given

to

The archbiſhop of Novgorod, one of the principal inſtruments in the revolution, and who had the moſt aſſiſted in diminiſhing the privileges of the monks, having been gained over by money and promiſes, found all at once that his towering hopes were fruſtrated. When Catharine had no longer any need of his ſervices, ſhe preſently diſmiſſed him; and he was obliged to take back with him his rage and diſgrace to a clergy who hated him, and a people who deſpiſed his ambition.

In the mean time Poniatoſſky had learned, with inexpreſſible joy, the triumph of Catharine. Since his departure from St. Peterſburg, he had kept up a regular correſpondence with her, through the means of ſome obliging friends; and he placed the more dependence upon her, as, while ſhe had a ſecret partiality for others, ſhe openly affected a romantic conſtancy in her attachment to him. Perhaps Poniatoſſky might flatter himſelf that he ſhould ſoon be honoured with her hand whoſe heart he imagined had long been his. He advanced to the frontiers of Po-

to that effect, and tranſmitted to Scotland; and for which all the neceſſary papers and documents were to have been furniſhed by herſelf.

land, and ſent to aſk permiſſion of her majeſty to pay a viſit to her court. But ſhe returned him for anſwer, that his preſence was not neceſſary at Peterſburg; and that ſhe had different views in his behalf. Unwilling that he ſhould be farther informed of her new connections, ſhe continued to write to him in an affectionate ſtyle, and ſometimes ſhed tears before the confidants * of the Pole, in ſpeaking of her paſſion for him. She complained that an inclination for Orloff was attributed to her, and attempted to ridicule him in their eyes.

But the period of fears was paſt. Orloff had done with myſtery. Haughty and coarſe in his manners, that favourite but aukwardly ſubmitted to diſſimulation; and he now made it appear that he had no longer occaſion for an inconvenient precaution. Accuſtomed to live in the barracks and cabaks †, Orloff at times would drink pretty freely. One evening, being at ſupper with the empreſs, the hetman Razumoffſky, and ſome others of the court, and being flushed with wine, he talked of the aſcendant he had over the guards; he boaſted of having ſolely brought about the revolution; and added, that his power

* M. de Mercy and M. de Breteuil.

† Tippling houſes frequented by the lower orders of people.

was

was ſo great, that if he choſe to abuſe it, he could deſtroy in one month his own work, and dethrone the empreſs. "You might do ſo in "one month," returned the hetman, ſmiling at his inſolence; "but, my friend, within a fort-"night after we would have hanged you!" The other courtiers ſeemed offended; but the favour of Orloff was not diminiſhed.

The attachment of Catharine to her favourite aroſe more from policy than affection. She knew his activity, his vehemence, his boldneſs; and ſhe could neither arm herſelf againſt him by an empty pride, nor prefer to him courtiers doubtleſs more polite, but almoſt all without talents, and deſtitute of courage. Leſs gracious towards the other conſpirators, who were only ſubaltern officers, and whom ſhe had already ſufficiently rewarded, ſhe removed them by degrees from the court, leaving them to return to their ſoldier-like courſe of life, and their obſcure libertiniſm. It may be that ſhe would have done better to have kept on the maſk a little longer *.

The

* Some perſons made a handle of this behaviour to charge her with ingratitude and ſelfiſhneſs. The ſtate counſellor Brodorf, private ſecretary to the tzar, and who had often prevented that prince from ſhewing his reſentment againſt Catharine, ſpoke of it in theſe terms: "The empreſs thinks "it a ſufficient happineſs to be permitted to ſerve her, and "that it is recompence enough to have the honour which ſhe

"ſuppoſes

The chaſtiſement of the ſoldiers who were the firſt in the mutiny had not entirely quelled the ſpirit of revolt. The removal of the archbiſhop of Novgorod and princeſs Daſhkoff, the unſettled health of the young grand duke *, the pity ſhewn by all ranks of people for prince Ivan; all furniſhed a handle to diſcontents, which the popes dexterouſly employed for inciting and irritating the people. There was a general fermentation in the barracks. The danger became even ſo imminent, that her majeſty was thought, during a whole day †, to be in extreme hazard of experiencing the fate of her huſband. But her courage never forſook her. Without calling her council, ſhe took private meaſures for calming the revolt; and when the hetman Razumoffſky, Beſtucheff, Panin, Gleboff, with ſeveral other members of the ſenate, preſented themſelves to her, to teſtify their uneaſineſs, ſhe ſaid to them, with that dignity which was peculiar to her: "Why are you alarmed? Think

"ſuppoſes it ſhould be reckoned; and when ſhe has made "what uſe ſhe wanted of any one, or of which ſhe thought "him capable, ſhe does with him as we do with an orange, "after ſucking out the juice we throw the peal out at "window."

* He was attacked with a ſort of ſcorbutic complaint.

† It was ſome time after her return from Moſco.

"ye that I am afraid to face the danger? or "rather, are you afraid that I know not how to "overcome it? Recollect that you have ſeen "me, in moments more terrible than theſe, in "full poſſeſſion of the whole vigour of my "mind; and that I can ſupport the moſt cruel "reverſes of Fortune with as much ſerenity as "I have ſupported her favours. A few factious "ſpirits, a few mutinous ſoldiers, are to de-"prive me of a crown that I accepted with re-"luctance*, and only as the means of deliver-"ing the ruſſian nation from the miſeries with "which it was threatened! I know not with what "pretence they colour their inſolence; I know "not on what means they rely; but, I ſay it "again, they cauſe me no alarm. That Pro-"vidence which has called me to reign, will "preſerve me for the glory and the happineſs of "the empire; and that almighty arm which has "hitherto been my defence, will now confound "my foes."

The Orloffs, in the mean time, neglected nothing for paciſying the guards; and preſents ſoftened thoſe whom ſpeeches and promiſes could not appeaſe. When their fidelity was

* It is certain that Catharine expreſſed herſelf in theſe very terms, and that even in the preſence of ſome of her accomplices.

again

again ſecured, four-and-twenty of their officers were arreſted and tried. The four principal ringleaders* were declared guilty of high treaſon, and condemned to be quartered. But Catharine, thinking that leſs benefit was likely to accrue from leaving them to their ſentence, commuted their puniſhment into a baniſhment to Siberia; and wiſhing, at the ſame time, to attempt at inſpiring the Ruſſians with ſome dread of infamy, a dread which had ſo much influence in other nations, ſhe cauſed the four officers to be degraded, and ſcourged by the hand of the common executioner.

While Catharine was thus managing her ſubjects, ſhe diſplayed to foreign courts all the greatneſs of her character. The ambaſſador of France ſollicited her in vain for obtaining a reverſal ſimilar to thoſe granted by Elizabeth and Peter III. at their acceſſion to the throne, the purport of which was to prove that the title of empreſs changed abſolutely nothing in the ceremonial between the two courts; and perſiſted in the refuſal, notwithſtanding the difficul-

* Theſe were the three brothers Gourieff, officers in the Iſmailoffſky regiment of guards, and Arouſcheff, an officer of the regiment of Ingria or Ingermlandſkoï. A brother of the latter, ſerjeant in the ſame regiment, was alſo in the plot, but was not ſubjected to the ſame puniſhment.

tles

ties it might occaſion*. In a word, ſhe declared that the ceremonial ſhould not be changed; but that there ſhould never more be any reverſal at the commencement of a new reign†. Nevertheleſs ſhe gave ſecret inſtructions to ſeveral of her ambaſſadors to take precedence of that from France, whenever occaſion ſhould offer‡.

The empreſs, always combining policy with firmneſs, found means to ſooth the moſt dangerous of the prieſts, and to put a ſtop to the cabals of the monks. She recalled to court princeſs Daſhkoff, whoſe influence and enterpriſes at Moſco might diſturb the tranquillity of

* Theſe difficulties were not the only ones M. de Breteuil had with Catharine: and it may not be uſeleſs to mention the grave minutiæ in which ambaſſadors are ſometimes employed. The cuſtom is, that women as well as men kiſs the hand of the empreſs. M. de Breteuil had the vanity to inſiſt that his lady, rather than conform to that cuſtom, ſhould abſtain from appearing at court. He made ſeveral remonſtrances on this ſubject. Catharine held out; and that madame de Breteuil might not die of vexation in her hôtel, the ambaſſador was obliged to ſubmit. However, by a grand ſtroke of policy, he recommended to his lady not to kiſs her majeſty's hand, but only to pretend to do ſo.

† See the declaration in the Appendix at the end of the volume.

‡ The diſpute that happened between the duc de Châtelet and count Chernicheff, ambaſſador from Ruſſia to the court of St. James's, is well known.

the

the empire. She ſent away the piedmonteſe Odart, whoſe continual informations had rendered him odious to all the court. Her praiſe was reſounded, by the trumpet of fame, from one end of Europe to the other, and reverberated to Peterſburg. The health of the young grand duke was re-eſtabliſhed. The promiſing expectations that were juſtly raiſed by the good conduct of that prince, drew off all eyes from the priſon of the unfortunate Ivan; and the Ruſſians accommodated themſelves to a yoke which they had attempted in vain to ſhake off.

Ambition did not extinguiſh the love of pleaſure in the breaſt of Catharine. It was even by the latter that ſhe gained more and more the attachment of her courtiers; but ſhe could quit her pleaſures to engage in the moſt ſerious affairs, and apply to the moſt arduous concerns of government. She aſſiſted at all the deliberations of the council, read the diſpatches from her ambaſſadors, either dictated or minuted with her own hand the anſwers that were to be ſent to them, and afterwards attended to all the particulars of their execution. Jealous of ſolid renown, ſhe ſet before her the example of thoſe illuſtrious monarchs who effaced their weakneſſes by the grandeur of their exploits; and, with the infirmities of men, merited and obtained

tained the grateful acknowledgments of all ſucceeding times, as the friends and benefactors of the human race. She followed thoſe maxims which ſhe frequently quoted: "We ſhould be "conſtant in our plans," ſaid ſhe. "It is better "to do amiſs, than to alter our purpoſe. None "but fools are irreſolute."

CHAP. III.

Catharine is occupied in ſchemes of aggrandiſement. — She ſupports Biren in Courland. — Panin is deſirous of changing the form of the ruſſian government. — Beſtucheff diſſuades the empreſs from it, and wiſhes to induce her to marry Gregory Orloff. — A plot concerted at Moſco againſt the life of Orloff. — A conſpiracy againſt the empreſs. — Anſwer of princeſs Daſhkoff. — Poniatofsky deſirous of coming to Ruſſia, &c. — Occurrences of 1762 *and* 1763.

ALL ſovereigns have their private hiſtories: but the anecdotes of their domeſtic concerns are in ſome inſtances not ſo well authenticated, and in others not of ſuch a nature as to render them proper objects of hiſtory. The true life of a monarch

narch conſiſts in the actions which he performs in the capacity of monarch; eſpecially if he rule with unlimited ſway, and for the moſt part govern in his own perſon: both circumſtances met in Catharine. But though ordinances, laws, inſtitutions at home, influence on foreign countries, wars, treaties of peace, properly form the ſubject of the biography of a mighty potentate; yet accounts of occurrences that regard his own perſon alſo deſerve to be interwoven, as often as they give riſe to greater events, or are any otherwiſe inſeparably connected with public hiſtory.

The bloody war carried on againſt Frederic, continued to rage in the reſt of Europe. Ruſſia had juſt ſeparated from that formidable league, and Sweden was following her example. Peter had not merely put an end to hoſtilities, and reſtored to the king the territory of Eaſt-Pruſſia, which had been conquered by the ruſſian arms; but he had even ordered his troops to join the army of that prince, to fight under him as allies, againſt the remaining confederated powers. The latter relation thus immediately ceaſed, and it was of the utmoſt importance to know what reſolutions would now be adopted by Catharine. For, though the ruſſian army under Elizabeth had performed ſo little in compariſon of what might have been reaſonably expected from their numbers and force,

force, yet Ruſſia was a very formidable enemy, to whom Frederic, in ſpite of all the reſources of his fertile genius, muſt at length have ſubmitted, eſpecially if the bravery of the ſoldiers ſhould have been properly enforced by a better command.

Frederic had been Peter's friend, was acquainted with all his ſentiments and plans, had imparted to him counſel, and maintained a confidential correſpondence with him. Could it be expected that his ſucceſſor ſhould have much inclination and confidence for the friend of him whom ſhe had depoſed from the throne? Was it not probable that he was informed, perhaps even approved of the meaſures that the emperor had taken in regard to Catharine, and for the preventing of which ſhe had undertaken that very ſtep? Frederic had indeed been Peter's friend; but a worthy and paternal friend, an experienced and faithful monitor. He had the higheſt reaſon to be devoted to the emperor with the ſincereſt attachment; but Frederic was too generous to beſtow his calm approbation on what he did not hold to be right. With tender concern he beheld Peter giving the rein to his paſſions, and exerted all the influence of his friendſhip to reduce him to a better conduct. His letters abounded with admonitions to

the reſtoration of domeſtic concord, and the re-eſtabliſhment of peace in the imperial family. Catharine read them, and was convinced of the perſevering good-will of the great prince, to whom ſhe was indebted for the firſt poſſibility of obtaining the ruſſian crown*. Frederic had even left nothing untried to diſſuade the tzar from his violent reſolution of declaring war againſt Denmark: at length, however, a congreſs was appointed at Berlin, in order to bring all differences to an accommodation.

The negotiation went on with ſucceſs, and ended happily. Catharine therefore ratified the peace with Pruſſia and with Denmark.

Ruſſia then enjoyed a peace with foreign powers, which had been begun by the unfortunate Peter III. and which Catharine had now

* On peruſing theſe letters the empreſs burſt into tears of gratitude, and made in conſequence the ſtrongeſt declarations in favour of this prince. They were not without effect. Orders had been given with relation to Pruſſia, which threatened a renewal of hoſtilities. They were ſoon ſuſpended. The army of the Ruſſians was indeed ſeparated from that of Pruſſia; but all the important places, which the Ruſſians had, with ſo much bloodſhed, and through ſo many difficulties, acquired, and which gave them the command of every thing elſe that remained to the king, were faithfully reſtored.

confirmed:

confirmed: but the interior of the empire, in various parts, exhibited ſigns of fermentation. Neither the ſevere ſentence pronounced againſt the four principal leaders of the tumult of the guards, nor the aſſumed clemency of the empreſs, were able to ſtifle thoſe ſentiments of hatred and vengeance which the view of a great act of injuſtice never fails to inſpire.

Though Catharine perhaps had no great reaſon to ſuſpect that her ſubjects were not perfectly ſatisfied with the methods by which the late revolution had been effected, yet ſhe thought it expedient to call off their attention from a recent event of ſuch magnitude and importance, by brilliant novelties and ſucceſsful enterpriſes. But ſhe alſo knew that too many obſtacles were oppoſed to theſe enterpriſes, and that the penury of her finances as well as the dictates of policy impelled her to peace.

With regard to any offenſive intentions againſt Ruſſia, they have long ſince ceaſed to compoſe a part in the politics of any power whatever. Notwithſtanding her permanent ſtrength, and an occaſional exertion of it, that are very menacing, it does not appear that there has, even once, been a plan ſeriouſly thought on for the reduction of the greatneſs of Ruſſia, ever ſince the time of Charles XII. which was the period of

her entering into the circle of our political ſyſtem: and this was rather an attempt to cruſh her in her infancy, than a plan to obſtruct her further growth, when once become formidable.

From that time ſhe has been growing (not ſo much, perhaps, as might be expected in learning and the arts, but, certainly) to a very high degree in ſubſtantial power, and in all the reſources that ſupport it; a ſtrong military force, an increaſing commerce, prudent, becauſe, for the moſt part a lucrative ſyſtem of negotiation; and an unbounded influence over thoſe nations with whom ſhe has the neareſt connection.

Her friendſhip has been much ſought, and generally paid for. Her armies have been kept up at very conſiderable numbers; and if her troops have not improved, the laſt war evidently demonſtrated that they had not at all declined from that diſcipline to which they were formed by Peter the great. That commerce, too, of which he was the founder, had been far from languiſhing ſince his death: and the balance of trade was probably in her favour againſt ſome of the nations with whom ſhe has intercourſe. The emulation which, for this century paſt, has ſubſiſted amongſt all the maritime countries in augmenting their marine, has, without the exertion of any deep policy on her ſide, operated powerfully

powerfully in her favour; as nature has made her the great magazine of naval ſtores to Europe.

Nothing ſhews more clearly that Ruſſia has the ſtrongeſt political ſtamina, than that her condition is ſuch as we have deſcribed it, whilſt her government has undergone very frequent ſhocks and ſudden revolutions, whilſt the throne was ſeldom eſtabliſhed with great ſecurity to the poſſeſſor, and never provided with any ſound and invariable rule of ſucceſſion.

At preſent it could not be ſaid that Ruſſia was much improved in theſe particulars. On the contrary, nothing could be more critical than the ſituation of that government.

The empreſs immediately applied with extreme aſſiduity and care to the adminiſtration of her vaſt eſtates, the advancement of commerce, the augmentation of the marine, and eſpecially to the means of recovering the finances, without being reduced to the neceſſity of obſerving a parſimonious œconomy. Her grand ideas of the ſovereignty of Ruſſia permitted her not to renounce that oriental magnificence, for which, from the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, the court of St. Peterſburg had been famous throughout the world. This luxury might likewiſe ſeem the more neceſſary as an object of attraction to the notice of the public both at home

and abroad, till ſhe could excite its aſtoniſhment by the ſplendour of conqueſts.

After engaging in buſineſs with her miniſters, her majeſty would frequently converſe and always in private, one while with Beſtucheff and at another with Munich. With one ſhe ſtudied politics and the reſources of the ſeveral courts of Europe; the other communicated to her the plan he had been meditating in his exile in Siberia, for driving the Turks from Conſtantinople, a plan ſingularly gratifying to the aſpiring mind of Catharine, and which, thirty years after, ſeemed to have been on the point of being carried into effect.

Her firſt cares were directed to domeſtic regulations. The ſtyle in all her ordinances has ſomething uncommonly confidential and open: the ſubjects heard the voice of a careful mother, without feeling themſelves treated like helpleſs children; on the contrary they all have a tendency to bring them to liberty. She frequently mentioned the duties of ſovereigns, and particularly what the empreſs eſteemed to be her own. For inſtance, in her firſt manifeſto, dated July 6, 1762, immediately on her acceſſion to the throne: "It is thus," ſaid the empreſs, "without ſpilling one drop of blood, that we "have aſcended the ruſſian throne, by the aſſiſt-

"ance

"ance of God, and the approving ſuffrages
"of our beloved country. — Humbly adoring
"the decrees of Divine Providence, we aſſure
"our faithful ſubjects, that we will not fail, by
"night and by day, to invoke the Moſt High to
"bleſs our ſceptre, and enable us to wield it for
"the maintenance of our orthodox religion, the
"ſecurity and defence of our dear country, and
"the equal adminiſtration of juſtice; as well as
"to put an end to all miſeries, iniquities, and
"violences, by ſtrengthening and fortifying our
"heart for the public good. And as we ar-
"dently wiſh to prove effectually how far we
"merit the reciprocal love of our people, for
"whoſe happineſs we acknowledge our throne
"to be eſtabliſhed, we ſolemnly promiſe on our
"imperial word, to make ſuch arrangements in
"the empire as that the government may be
"endued with an intrinſic force to ſupport itſelf
"within limited and proper bounds; and each
"department of the ſtate provided with whole-
"ſome laws and regulations, ſufficient to the
"preſervation of good order, at all times, and
"in all circumſtances.

"By which means we hope henceforward
"to eſtabliſh the empire and our ſovereign
"power, (however they may have been here-
"tofore weakened,) in ſuch a manner as to

" comfort the diſcouraged hearts of all true " patriots. Not entertaining the leaſt doubt, " that all our loving ſubjects will, as well for the " ſalvation of their own ſouls, as for the honour " of religion, inviolably obſerve the oath they " have ſworn in the preſence of Almighty God; " we thereupon aſſure them of our imperial " favour."

Again in the ukaſe of the 29th of July in the ſame year: "Not only all that we have or " may have, but alſo our life itſelf, we have " devoted to our dear country. We value no- " thing on our own account; we ſerve not " ourſelf; but we labour with all pains, with all " diligence and care, for the glory and happineſs " of our people."

In a manifeſto of the 17th of July, the empreſs publicly and ſolemnly promiſed to employ her principal care to the maintenance of juſtice. Under date of the 29th ſhe informed the people of her having received account that a certain regiſtrator of the government-chancery of Novgorod, named Jacob Rember, had taken money for adminiſtering the oath of allegiance; for which ſhe had baniſhed him for life to Siberia: and on that occaſion iſſued a ſevere decree againſt bribery and extortion. The picture ſhe here drew of the ſtate of things was truly alarming:

" If

" If any one be deſirous of an office, he muſt " pay for it; if any one wiſh to defend himſelf " from ſlander, he muſt do it with money; " if any one would ſlander another, he cor- " roborates his malice by bribes. In this man- " ner do many judges convert the ſacred place " where they are appointed to pronounce juſtice " in our name, into a market.....Theſe ex- " amples of perſons who, in the principal " courts, have crept into office only for the " purpoſe of ſcreening themſelves from puniſh- " ment, are imitated, particularly in remote " parts of the empire, even by judges and offi- " cers of the loweſt orders, to the vexation " and oppreſſion of poor people; practiſing the " arts of chicane, not only in caſes of little im- " portance, but under the form of law, which " they wrongly interpret, and bringing ruin on " the perſons and families of even thoſe who are " rather deſerving of our ſovereign complacency " and favour."

By an ukaſe, dated Moſco, Oct. 13, the empreſs confirmed the abolition of the ſecret-inquiſition-chancery: " to the erection whereof " the circumſtances of the then times, and the " yet uncivilized manners of the nation, had " furniſhed occaſion to the magnanimous and " gracious monarch Peter the great; but the " neceſſity

" neceſſity whereof had ever ſince been gradually " diminiſhing :" an honourable and genuine teſtimony to the high value ſhe ſet upon the intellectual improvement of her people. For, if the great reformer of the ruſſian government had to contend againſt numerous inſurrections and conſpiracies; if even after his death, excluſively of inferior or abortive plots, within forty years not yet complete ſix revolutions befel the perſons on and next the throne: ſurely no man will aſcribe theſe convulſions to the high degree of mental cultivation in the country. Improving the nation upwards from the lower orders, and gentle treatment of it downwards from above, produced even here at length, by a natural conſequence, internal peace and ſecurity. Catharine was ſenſible that ſhe could obtain the love and attachment of the people by better means than by the encouragement of ſpies and informers; no ſooner was ſhe placed on the throne, but, ſuperior to degrading fear, ſhe completely put an end to the political inquiſition.

" Peter I. inſtituted (as we learn by the " ukaſe) certain chanceries for ſecret criminal " cauſes under various names." By theſe meaſures he hoped to gain information of many ſchemes of miſchief before their execution: but what a field was thus opened to the moſt dangerous accuſations! How formidable to every family

mily muſt the regiſtries of this ſecret court of judicature have been, where the moſt innocent names might be inſcribed with a falſe accuſation annexed, and all refutation often rendered impoſſible to the profoundeſt concealment! Catharine now generouſly and nobly decreed, that "The "ſecret-inquiſition chancery is henceforth and for "ever aboliſhed. The acts of it ſhall be brought "into the ſenate, and there ſealed up in the "archives conſigned to everlaſting oblivion."— The capital crimes which were the matter of ſecret examination, were, *high-treaſon*, attempts againſt religion, treaſon againſt the ſtate. But its juriſdiction gradually increaſed; criminal caſes, properly lying within the province of the ordinary courts, being frequently brought thither, which the officious induſtry of the inquiſitors very much encouraged; particularly as it depended on the accuſer to mix ſomething in his accuſation that might make it touch upon ſome one or other of the points above ſpecified. Now, at the abolition of this inquiſition, Catharine ſettled the practice to be purſued in future in the ordinary tribunals in charges of real ſtate-crimes, and ſo plainly and diſtinctly determined the particular caſes of delinquency againſt the perſon of the ſovereign, and againſt the welfare of the ſtate, that there was no longer any room for malicious

malicious or ſiniſter interpretation. What went under the name of religious crimes were entirely ſuppreſſed.—The irregularity and ſeverity of the proceedings had been truly ſhocking. The regular modes of evidence were held to be inadequate to the nature of a ſecret denunciation and a myſterious tribunal: impriſonment, nay even execution, was often the beginning of the proceſs. The manner of proceſs was uſually this: when the accuſer failed in every kind of proof, he muſt undergo the dreadful puniſhment of the knoot three ſeveral times; after which his declaration was admitted as legal. The accuſed might deliver his objections in the ſame manner, unleſs he rather choſe to be declared guilty. We cannot relate it without horror that this mode of proceeding was in uſe, without regard to ſtation, age, or ſex, and even more than once repeated when the judge wavered in his opinion between the oppoſite aſſertions thus proved by both parties. But now, if the accuſer had ſome plauſible ground in his behalf, then the accuſed had a more cruel coercion to undergo. Catharine therefore ordained that the truth ſhould be inveſtigated entirely without torture; and, with Frederic of Pruſſia, was likewiſe in this reſpect a model for the reſt of Europe. Her criminal laws throughout breathe a mild and gentle ſpirit:

ſhe had not, like Elizabeth, made a vow to puniſh no one with death; for why ſhould a philoſophical character have recourſe to ſo mechanical a compulſion to perſeverance in its principles? But during her long reign a ſentence of death was extremely rare.

The ſecret inquiſition as a deſirable inſtrument for ill-diſpoſed perſons to employ in the gratification of the ſordid paſſions of envy and revenge againſt their betters. But, to the honour of the nation be it ſaid, that in the latter years of Elizabeth's reign, ſuch informations were becoming leſs frequent from day to day: only among the lower claſſes, among ſervants, vaſſals, nay, to the deſtruction of all ſubordination, even among ſailors and ſoldiers, while ſuffering ſome (frequently well-deſerved) chaſtiſement, or with perſons who had cheriſhed ſome grudge againſt their ſuperiors, the cuſtom ſtill ſubſiſted to make themſelves formidable by the miſchief it enabled them to commit; on which account Peter III. in February publiſhed his ukaſe. The practice of the populace on ſuch occaſions, was, to *cry out the word*; which ſignified, I have a ſecret of importance to diſcover of ſomebody, and now mean to point out who it is. The moſt horrible, and among them the moſt ridiculous ſtories are related of the application of this cuſtom. A

patient

patient in the hoſpital employed it to prevent an operation the ſurgeon was about to perform. The ſound was ſo awful and tremendous, that if, in the midſt of a great crowd, any one called out, "The word," all preſent turned pale, and immediately ſeparated, running and croſſing themſelves as faſt as they could. Perſons of conſequence, a maſter who had puniſhed his ſervant, muſt inſtantly ſtop ſhort in the ſtreet, and go with him to the next guard-houſe, demanding of the officers to be both ſent to priſon together.—Catharine thus provided againſt this grievance: "The odious expreſſion, *to cry the* "*word* (ſlovo i delo) ſhall henceforth have no "ſignification; every one is forbidden to uſe it. "If any perſon, notwithſtanding this prohibition, "ſhall, in drunkenneſs, in quarrel, or to avoid "lawful correction, preſume to employ it, ſuch "perſon ſhall be ſo puniſhed on the ſpot, as the "police uſually puniſhes vagabonds and diſturb-"ers of the public peace.

"If, nevertheleſs, lazy, wicked, and worthleſs "perſons, ſoldiers, ſailors, vaſſals, boors, work-"men in manufactories and ſhops, ſhould yet be "found who ſhall contravene this declaration "of our will, ſuch informer ſhall be taken into "cuſtody [by a civil or military officer], and "firſt interrogated whether he underſtands the

"two

" two points abovementioned [crimes againſt " the ſovereign and the ſtate] in their true " import. If it be found that he underſtands " them in their true import, and inſiſts that " what he has to deliver really relates to theſe " two points; he ſhall be directly aſked in what " the matter itſelf conſiſts. If he declare it, " but can neither bring proofs nor produce evi- " dence, nor point out any circumſtances to " render his declaration credible, he ſhall be " earneſtly admoniſhed, &c. If after all theſe " cautions and admonitions, he will not deſiſt " from his aſſertion, then he ſhall be confined " for two whole days without having any thing " to eat or to drink, but left all that time alone, " to collect himſelf, and to conſider; and after " the expiration of that term he ſhall expreſsly " be aſked whether, &c. Does he now con- " firm anew what he had before aſſerted; in " ſuch caſe the informer ſhall be ſent, under " cloſe cuſtody, according to the diſtance of the " place, either to the ſenate in St. Peterſburg, " or to Moſco, or to the neareſt government- " chancery."

The wiſdom apparent in the whole (too long for our purpoſe) of this mild and provident ordinance, and eſpecially as founded on the nature of the human mind and the condition of the

country,

country, demands the higheſt admiration. To ſhut up the informer of the lower claſs of people two days long without the ſmalleſt nouriſhment; is a precept always ſtrictly obſerved, and has very often been attended with this conſequence, that the raſh informer, having ſlept off his intoxication, or ſtifled his paſſion, or upon maturer conſideration in ſolitude and ſilence, has retracted his accuſation.

Catharine declared, by a manifeſto, that coloniſts ſhall find welcome and ſupport in her country: ſeveral foreigners, therefore, preſently began to migrate thither. Whereupon, in Auguſt 1763, ſhe made more ſpecific regulations in relation to them, particularly by inſtituting the tutelary chancery (a chancery for the guardianſhip or protection of foreigners). The next ſtep ſhe took in this behalf was to point out by name ſuch diſtricts as were proper for agriculture and hitherto unoccupied, with particular notices of what was foreſt, arable land, meadow land,* &c. what allotments bordered upon rivers, and what the fiſheries might yield. Thus, in the government of Tobolſk, on the Barabinſkoï ſteppe, ſeveral hundred thouſand deſætines* of fertile ſoil, and another large tract of land with ſeveral

* See before, p. 53, 54.

rivers

rivers running through it, were appropriated to cultivation: in the government of Aſtrakhan, from Saratof on the Volga upwards, above 34,000 deſættines; on the Volga from Saratof downwards, above 36,000: in the government of Orenburg, portions of land for ſome thouſand families: in the territory of Bielgorod, free lands for ſome hundred farms.—But not merely to the cultivation of ſuch diſtricts were foreigners encouraged, but to ſettle for general purpoſes in the ruſſian empire, in whatever town they would, as merchants, artificers, or however elſe. The proclamation ſets forth, that "any one who is deſtitute ſhall receive money "for the expences of the journey, and ſhall be "forwarded at the charge of the crown. On "his arrival he ſhall receive a competent aſſiſt-"ance; and, if he want it, even an advance of "a capital, free of intereſt for 10 years. All "that he brings for his own uſe is duty free; "even for ſale, a family may introduce to the "value of 300 rubles. The ſtranger is ex-"empt from all ſervice either military or civil; "even from all taxes and impoſts for a certain "time: in Moſco, Peterſburg, and the livonian "towns, he enjoys five free years; in the inland "towns, ten; on the hitherto uncultivated diſ-"tricts, thirty. In theſe new tracts of land, the "coloniſts live according to their own good-

" will, under their own juriſdiction, without any " participation or cognizance of the imperial " officers. All religions are tolerated." The empreſs at once granted to the tutelary chancery an annual revenue of 200,000 rubles. Moreover, for coloniſts in the government of Aſtrakhan, a clergyman of every chriſtian ſect, a pariſh-clerk, a phyſician, a ſurgeon, an apothecary, &c. were appointed to be paid by the crown.

Scarcely had this inviting voice reſounded over Germany through the organs of the ſeveral miniſters, than hundreds and thouſands flocked to take poſſeſſion of the promiſed land on the ſhores of the Volga and the Samara. For it muſt be confeſſed that in Germany great numbers of people are very reaſonably diſſatisfied with their condition, ſighing under the preſſure of religion, of juſtice, or of finance, or of all the three at once; and there are certainly many fertile, beautiful, and highly improvable tracts of country in the before-mentioned diſtricts. Individuals, and whole families, numerous in women and children, people of tolerable circumſtances, beggars, projectors, vagabonds, literati, artificers, mechanics, old and young, ſet out in haſte to be ſtowed on board of ſhip at Lubeck and other maritime towns on the Baltic. Several of the petty princes of Germany at firſt iſſued prohibitions againſt

theſe

theſe emigrations, and their example was afterwards followed by others; and it is not to be denied, that many of the perſons employed in the colonial plan made uſe of ſome indirect means for inticing inconſiderate perſons from their buſineſſes. But it received the moſt effectual check from the reports that ſoon ran about concerning the new ſettlers themſelves. Letters came full of complainings that their expectations were deceived. The inconveniencies of the journey, the ignorance of the language, the want of their cuſtomary accommodations, the harſhneſs of many perſons in office, might very well bring many of the coloniſts to repent of the raſh ſtep they had taken: others, who wanted only to live in idleneſs, wondered that they were to begin again to work, as it was exactly on that very account that they had left their home.—This whole method of ſettling colonies, however, is very far from being the beſt. A government moſt ſurely improves the country by regulations and inſtitutions of a humane and gentle nature, without oſtentation and noiſe; wiſdom and juſtice give ſpirit to the inhabitants, and increaſe the population; thither the foreigner will go, that he may live and thrive under its foſtering protection; and only he who comes on this inducement proves a uſeful and eſtimable citizen.

Catharine underſtood and practiſed this better method of increaſing the inhabitants of her country. But Europe expects to ſee, eſpecially at the opening of a reign, ſplendid inſtitutions announced in brilliant deſcriptions. Beſides, in reſpect to thoſe of which we are now ſpeaking, very ſpacious diſtricts entirely void of people make a great difference: in this caſe a mere proclamation may doubtleſs produce ſome beneficial effect; for the emigrants muſt come in large troops, that ſome may ſettle and multiply. — So it happened in Ruſſia. Beſides the Germans, ſettlers came from France, Poland, and Sweden. In the diſtrict of Saratof alone, theſe coloniſts amounted to upwards of 10,000 families. Indeed, in the year 1774, there were only about 6194, making 25,781 heads; but in the firſt ten years the loſs is evidently the moſt conſiderable: thoſe who remained, with ſuch as have joined them ſince, give the moſt promiſing hopes of future progreſs. In the year 1760 the government had ſent as ſettlers in the territory of Nertſchinſk, adjacent to the borders of China, a ſtony and very cold province, but rich in gold and ſilver mines, perſons ordered for exile and other puniſhments, with diſorderly and lazy boors of the nobility, unſerviceable recruits, &c. But as agriculture would not flouriſh there, Catharine

aſſigned theſe people their abode in the government of Tobolſk *; where there were, from 1769 to 1772, in general ſettled 10,799 full-grown males, 9716 women and children; conſequently, all together, 20,515 perſons. It is true they came originally from other parts of the empire: but in the places they came from they were uſeleſs and idle, whereas in their new reſidence they were obliged to work: then in provinces longer and better peopled the chaſm they left was ſoon filled up; and all that was wanted was to bring a primitive race into deſert regions. To this likewiſe contributed the event that happened in 1775, when the whole horde of zaporagian kozaks, on the cataracts of the Dniepr, was entirely aboliſhed and diſperſed; and more recently, from the newly-conquered countries, Lithuania and Poland, a part of the inhabitants were conducted into the interior of the empire. A number of old greek families had formerly wandered from Ruſſia into Podolia, and other poliſh provinces: Catharine called them back, and allotted them habitations in Siberia on the banks of the Irtiſh and the Selenga. Individuals and whole tribes were likewiſe voluntarily

* This government in Siberia deals chiefly in furs and tallow; and there is ſtill a great want of people.

coming from the reſt of Europe and from middle Aſia, particularly ſuch as were diſſatisfied with the governments under which they had lived; as was eſpecially the caſe with many Greeks and Armenians.

In order to increaſe the population, or more properly to eradicate a phyſical and moral cauſe of depopulation, the empreſs alſo, at the propoſal of lieutenant-general Betſkoy, laid the foundation of the foundling and lying-in hoſpital at Moſco, and afterwards of another at St. Peterſburg. Whatever may be advanced againſt foundling hoſpitals, experience is incontrovertibly in their favour.

Catharine alſo now raiſed the means of providing for the health of the ſubjects into a national concern: ſhe founded in November, the medicinal college of the empire at St. Peterſburg; which, in purſuance of a ſubſequent regulation, was placed immediately under the empreſs.

Catharine had ſedulouſly applied to the moſt excellent and uſeful of all ſciences, the ſtudy of mankind: and, as the true baſis of it, had acquired the knowledge of herſelf. She underſtood ſo well her peculiar talents, her courage, and the whole extent of the benefits ſhe might derive from her influence, that, talking confidentially

fidentially with a foreign miniſter *, fitter to applaud her miſtakes than to appreciate her genius, ſhe aſked him whether he thought that the peace juſt concluded at Hubertſburg † would be of long duration? The miniſter anſwered, that the exhauſtion of the people, and the wiſdom of the ſovereigns by whom they were governed, ſeemed to promiſe a tranquillity of ſeveral years. But he added, that ſhe was better able to judge than he, ſince by her ſagacity ſhe could appreciate the political ſyſtem of the courts of Europe, and by her forces direct them at her will. Catharine then putting on an air of humility, ſaid: "You think then that Europe "has at preſent its eyes fixed on me, and "that I have ſome weight in the principal "courts?" The anſwer could not fail of being in the affirmative. Catharine hearkened with condeſcenſion; then aſſuming the full diſplay of imperial dignity: "I believe indeed," replied ſhe, "that Ruſſia merits attention. I have the "fineſt army in the world. I am rather ſhort of money, it is true; but I ſhall be abundantly [illegible] with it in a few years. If I gave the [illegible] inclination, I ſhould have a [illegible] than for peace; but

* Pruſſia.

"I am reſtrained by humanity, juſtice, and "reaſon. However, I ſhall not be like the "empreſs Elizabeth. I ſhall not allow myſelf "to be preſſed to make war: I ſhall enter "upon it when it will prove advantageous to "me; but never from complaiſance to others." Her majeſty added, that the world could not properly begin to form a judgment of her till after five years; that it required at leaſt ſo much time to reduce her empire to order, and to gather the fruit of her cares; but that in the mean time ſhe ſhould behave with all the princes of Europe like a finiſhed coquette.

Theſe words were ſtrictly true. The miniſter imagined they were dictated by vanity. Nevertheleſs he did not venture otherwiſe to reply than by a flattering compliment.

The firſt trial that Catharine made of her influence, was in favour of Biren, who experienced ſome difficulties on the part of the ſenate at Mittau. On recalling the troops that were in Pomerania, her majeſty ſent orders to them to paſs into Courland to ſupport the pretenſions of the duke, whom ſhe patronized. She then cauſed another army to march into Poland, under the command of count Romantzoff. It was ſoon reinforced by 20 general Cherniche[illegible]

During the long exile of Biren, the eſtates of Courland, conſidering him as lapſed from his title of duke, had elected in his place prince Charles of Saxony, ſon of Auguſtus III. king of Poland. This prince, ſupported by the authority of his father and by the wiſhes of the couriſh nation, ſeemed as if he ſhould neceſſarily carry it againſt a competitor, whoſe character for cruelty rendered him odious. But the preſence of the ruſſian armies eaſily put to ſilence the good-will that was entertained for duke Charles. Simolin*, the envoy of Catharine, was ſoon able to dictate to the ſenate of Mittau laws for its ſovereign; and a declaration promulgated at Moſco† in favour of Biren, by menacing the king of Poland with war, forced him to give the inveſtiture of Courland to the deſpoiler of his ſon.

Satisfied with ſo great docility, Catharine employed her mediation with Maria Thereſa and Frederic, to induce them to withdraw their troops from the hereditary dominions of the king of Poland: but ſhe could not ſucceed. The empreſs-queen laid the blame on the king of Pruſſia, who did not fail to throw it back

* The ſame who afterwards filled the character of ambaſſador at London and at Paris.

† The 31ſt of December.

upon

upon her. Peace happily put an end to theſe acts of injuſtice.

In the mean time, Frederic, who had long contemplated the friendſhip of Catharine as an object that might eventually be of the utmoſt importance to him, and who therefore was deſirous to gain it, was among the foremoſt to try to procure her attachment by a profuſion of complaiſance. He offered her the order of the black eagle, which ſhe graciouſly accepted, and wore while ſhe remained at Moſco. It was not poſſible that the empreſs could ſo ſoon have forgotten that the wearing of a pruſſian order had been imputed as a crime to her huſband: but ſhe was deſirous of ſhewing to her ſubjects that ſhe was not without conſideration in foreign courts; and what had been a fault in him became in her a mark of ability.

Some new differences now roſe between the court of Peterſburg and that of Copenhagen touching the adminiſtration of Holſtein. By a treaty ſecretly concluded twelve years before* between the king of Denmark and the king of Sweden, the latter had ceded to the former his rights to the regency of Holſtein during the minority of the young grand duke; for the

* In 1750.

court

court of Denmark had for a long time coveted a principality ſo commodiouſly ſituated, and which ſhe has ſince acquired. She beheld with concern the return of prince George, who had juſt taken the command of it in behalf of Ruſſia. She even at firſt refuſed to acknowledge his authority. But Catharine threatened: the Danes were afraid of ſhortly ſeeing again the ruſſian troops on their march to Holſtein. The daniſh commiſſaries quitted Kiel, and an envoy extraordinary* from Copenhagen came to Moſco to apologiſe for the king his maſter.

The court of Peterſburg and that of Stockholm were at that time living in perfect harmony. United by the ties of blood they were alike in want of peace, and Ruſſia as yet gave no ſymptoms of that enormous aggrandiſement of power with which, ſome years after, ſhe ſtruck terror into Sweden and the reſt of its neighbours.

Sedately relying on the intentions of the princes of Europe, Catharine could not be ſo tranquil in regard to her ſubjects. She neglected however nothing that ought to have attached them to her. Generous by nature, ſhe was now ſtill more ſo from policy. The deſire of augmenting the number of her dependents rendered

* M. Hachthauſen.

her

her even prodigal of her bounty, and her fears miſguided her choice.

She ſhewed lenity to the friends of the deceaſed tzar. She not only granted liberty to Gudovitch, to Volkoff, and to Milganoff, but gave the latter a body of troops to command, and to the ſecond the lieutenancy of the government of Orenburg. Gudovitch would accept of nothing.

In the firſt months that followed the ſanguinary death of Peter III. the empreſs had but little time to beſtow a thought upon the horror it muſt have excited in the public mind: but reflection on the circumſtance of owing her elevation to ſo flagrant a crime muſt occaſionally have haraſſed her own; and this, with the inceſſant repetitions of petty conſpiracies, kept her in continued diſquiet. They were detected, they were defeated, but it was impoſſible to annihilate their origin; and her majeſty was ſo much the more uneaſy as ſhe affected to diſſemble her vexation.

Another ſecret ſource of affliction to her was, that ſince Gregory Orloff had been acknowledged as her favourite, men the moſt diſtinguiſhed by their birth, jealous at the fortune of this minion, or diſguſted by his arrogance, kept aloof from the court. Catharine frequently ſaw none about her but rough ſoldiers, who ſtrangely abuſed the rights they imagined they had to her gratitude.

gratitude. It was not their paſt ſervices ſhe was recompenſing. Perhaps ſhe would have willingly diſpenſed with them: but ſhe was paying in advance for thoſe they might ſtill afford her; and her bounties, and the honours ſhe devolved upon them only augmented their inſolence, and ſharpened their greedineſs. She ſometimes, however, bluſhed at the deferences ſhe thought herſelf obliged to ſhew them; and in order to excuſe their defects, ſhe aſcribed to them qualities which they did not poſſeſs. "The life I lead is far from agreeable "to me," ſhe one day obſerved. "I know "that I am ſurrounded by people of no educa-"tion; but I am indebted to them for being "what I am. They are men of courage and "probity; and I am ſure that they will never "betray me." One part of this confeſſion could not be ſincere. The accomplices of Catharine were not wanting in courage; but their probity was not very conſpicuous.

Among theſe proud and brutal courtiers, Panin was almoſt the only one who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by poliſhed manners and a tolerably cultivated mind. Yet he enjoyed but a ſecondary influence. His thoughts were always turned on the ariſtocratic ſenate he had wanted Peter III. to eſtabliſh; and he ſeized every opportunity for diſplaying this pretended advantage before thoſe with

with whom he converſed. Obſerving, on ſome occaſion, that Catharine ſeemed to be under an extraordinary alarm, he thought it a favourable moment for unfolding to her the whole of his project, and for inducing her to adopt it. After exaggerating to her the dangers to which he feared ſhe was expoſed, and the difficulty of avoiding the troubles inſeparable from a uſurpation, he added, that there was one way ſtill of eſcaping them, and of immoveably fixing her throne; but that he was much afraid leſt a falſe delicacy might prevent her from recurring to it. Catharine bid him explain. He immediately delivered to her the principles of a ſyſtem of government, which a long experience of its inconveniences did not prevent him from admiring. "The ſovereigns of this empire," proceeded he, "have hitherto uniformly enjoyed an unlimited "power; but it is the very extent of that power "which renders it dangerous to him in whom it "is lodged, ſince it may at any time be uſurped "by ſome bold pretender, and the uſurper is "thenceforth above the laws: Truſt me, ma-"dam, make the ſacrifice of an abſolute au-"thority. Create a fixed and permanent council "which will ſecure to you the crown. Solemnly "declare that you renounce, for yourſelf and "for your ſucceſſors, the power of depriving at "pleaſure

" pleaſure the members of that auguſt body.
" Declare, that if they commit any crime or
" high miſdemeanor, their peers alone ſhall
" have the right to judge and to condemn them,
" on accurate and ſevere informations. From
" the moment you ſhall adopt this prudent
" meaſure, it will be forgotten that you ob-
" tained the crown by violence, in the ſenti-
" timent that you intend to preſerve it only by
" juſtice."

Catharine, who was delighted with whatever was new or extraordinary, thought there was ſomething ſublime in the propoſal, conceiving, that by renouncing the prerogative of abſolute power, ſhe ſhould at once acquire immortal glory, and for ever conciliate the love of her ſubjects. She would doubtleſs have been in the right if ſhe had reſolved to render them progreſſively and equally free, and have given them a ſenate, the members whereof ſhould be taken indifferently from all the ſeveral claſſes, and elected by the majority of ſuffrages. But to leave a whole people in the moſt degrading, the moſt cruel ſlavery, and to chuſe by favour a ſenate from a privileged order, what was this but to ſet up twenty or thirty tyrants in the place of one ſovereign? And is not the deſpotiſm of

bodies

bodies always more terrible and more immoveable than that of individuals?

However, Catharine charged Panin to commit his plan to paper and preſent it to her, expreſſing herſelf in ſuch a manner as to lead him to imagine that ſhe meant to put it in execution. Panin loſt no time in obeying her commands; and, in order more effectually to ſecure its ſucceſs, he placed the name of Gregory Orloff at the head of thoſe whom he deſtined to compoſe the new ſenate. The favourite ſeemed flattered with this diſtinction, but requeſted time to conſider upon it; and before he gave anſwer to Panin, he conſulted Beſtucheff, who, that he might continue to play his part, conſented to enlighten by his experience him whom his ſovereign ſhould vouchſafe to honour. Beſtucheff was too ſenſible to the value of a power which he had a long time directed, not to be ſhocked at the idea of ſeeing it drop from the hands of Catharine. He preſented himſelf immediately to her majeſty, expatiated with energy on the perils that accompanied the meaſure to which Panin was endeavouring to perſuade her, and conjured her not to expoſe herſelf to a long repentance, by dividing an authority which ſhe had acquired with ſo much trouble, and which

ſhe

ſhe would never recover if ſhe ſuffered it to be raviſhed from her but for a ſingle inſtant.

The empreſs eaſily perceived the wiſdom of the old chancellor's advice, and promiſed to follow it. On appearing a ſecond time before her, Panin found her already diſſuaded. She did juſtice to his zeal, praiſed his ſagacity, but owned to him that it was impoſſible for her to benefit by it. The miniſter was deeply mortified at ſo ſudden a change. Forced to diſſemble before Catharine, he gave vent to his ill-humour among his friends, and could not refrain from ſaying to one of them, on truſting him with theſe particulars: "If the empreſs is determined to "rule alone, you will ſee what a ſad reign we "ſhall make of it." Theſe words prove that Panin hearkened more to his reſentment than to reaſon, or that he was very little capable of judging of Catharine.

1763. Panin, however, was not long in diſcovering that it was owing to Beſtucheff alone that his enterpriſe had failed of ſucceſs; and he found an opportunity to retaliate upon him, by defeating in his turn a ſcheme that the ambitious old man had formed to render himſelf more neceſſary. As every thing concurred to evince the great influence of Orloff, and Catharine ſeemed no longer deſirous to conceal it, the artful

courtier inſinuated to the favourite how glad he ſhould be to ſee him emperor. He at once rouſed his ambition and exalted his pride. "Gregory Gregorevitch," ſaid he, "it is to "no purpoſe that Catharine has given you her "heart, unleſs ſhe preſents you with her hand. "She knows with how much zeal and intrepidity "you have acted in her ſervice. She knows "from what dangers you freed her to inveſt "her with the ſovereign power. She cannot "then worthily reward you but by giving you a "ſhare in that throne which ſhe owes to your "proweſs. Indeed why ſhould ſhe refuſe it? "Who is better able than you to ſupport that "throne againſt all attempts of conſpirators to "overturn it? Who would be more agreeable "to the ſovereign in the twofold capacity of "her admirer and her defender? Yes, I know "her well enough to be convinced that ſhe "would conſent to whatever you ſhould dare to "propoſe. You ſhould therefore loſe no time "in taking advantage of the inconſtant favour "of Fortune. To-morrow, perhaps, the op-"portunity may be paſt. Univerſal experience "proves, that attachments are not eternal. "Even death may remove her from your hopes; "and if you ſhould not inherit her power, "ſuch a misfortune would expoſe you to puniſh-

"ment

"ment for what you have undertaken in her "behalf.

"I am ſenſible, however, that it might not "be proper for you to make the propoſal. "Obſtacles might probably be thrown in your "way, with which your delicacy would forbid "you to contend. A refuſal might occaſion "you a mutual perplexity. Truſt yourſelf to "my long experience and my friendſhip. I "ſhall contrive to determine the empreſs her-"ſelf to offer you her crown. I promiſe you "that I ſhall hazard no propoſal that I am not "very certain of ſeeing accepted: but promiſe "me, on your part, to leave me to purſue my "own method, and that you will even feign an "ignorance of my proceedings."

Orloff liſtened to the aged chancellor with the moſt profound attention. Preſumptuous and volatile, he fancied himſelf for a moment on the throne of the tzars; and, embracing Beſtucheff, promiſed a compliance with all he deſired.

Beſtucheff the ſame day, having an opportunity of diſcourſing with the empreſs, artfully ſounded her on the ſubject. But Catharine, after much heſitation, concluded by telling the chancellor, that, however ſhe might be inclined to favour his propoſal, ſhe could never reſolve upon taking a ſtep that might meet with ſo many

difficulties; and confeſſed that, on conſidering it maturely, ſhe ſaw no way of making the attempt without giving umbrage to the empire.

The chancellor engaged to find out the means. He ingeniouſly compoſed, in the name of the ruſſian nation, a petition; in which, after making a juſt though pompous eulogium on all that the empreſs had done for the glory and the happineſs of her people, he called to mind the weak conſtitution of the young Paul Petrovitch, and the diſquietudes cauſed by the frequent alterations in his health; and conjured Catharine to give the empire an additional teſtimony of her love, by ſacrificing her own liberty to its welfare in taking a ſpouſe.

In order to conceal his real intentions from thoſe whom he deſigned ſhould promote them, Beſtucheff began by propoſing prince Ivan, very ſure that all thoſe who ſhould ſign the petition would reject that unfortunate captive. At the ſame time Catharine, who ſometimes gave the old courtier room to believe ſhe was under his guidance, putting on the air of approving this propoſal, afraid too that Ivan might ſuddenly be taken from priſon and crowned, cauſed him to be conveyed from the caſtle of Schluſſelburg, and lodged in a monaſtery at Kolmogor, not far from Archangel; where, as though it had

had been intended to make him more ſenſible to the misfortune that awaited him, he was treated at firſt with the honours that were due to his rank, but was ſoon carried back very ſecretly to Schluſſelburg-caſtle.

What the old chancellor had foreſeen failed not to happen. On his preſenting the petition to the clergy, twelve biſhops, previouſly gained over, eagerly put their ſignatures to it, ſpecifying that Catharine ought not to marry prince Ivan, becauſe he might puniſh her for her benefactions, aud pretend to ſtand indebted for the crown to his proper right alone. They at the ſame time requeſted that her majeſty would condeſcend to chooſe, from among her ſubjects, him whom ſhe ſhould think the moſt worthy to participate in her throne.

A great number of general officers adhered to the ſentiment of the biſhops. But for the dexterity of Panin and the courage of the hetman Razumoffſky, and the chancellor Vorontzoff, the ſtratagem of Beſtucheff would have ſucceeded, and Gregory Orloff had been emperor of all the Ruſſians*.

* Catharine, deſirous of dignifying Orloff, that her marriage with him might appear leſs diſproportionate, ſollicited the empreſs-queen to grant him a diploma of prince of the empire. This being done, it was her intention to decorate him with the title of duke of Ingria, and of Carelia.

Count Panin engaged Razumoffſky and Vorontzoff to repreſent to Catharine how humiliating the projected union would be, and how dangerous to her. The hetman ſpoke to her with the roughneſs of his character and the authority that his fortune and his ſervices gave him. Vorontzoff, caſting himſelf at her feet, intreated her not to engage in a marriage which would be attended with the greateſt misfortunes. His remonſtrances were very bold, and ſhewed him to poſſeſs a firmneſs of which he was not thought capable. But Catharine, who was never embarraſſed, affected extreme ſurpriſe; and, after having thanked Razumoffſky for his friendſhip, and praiſed the noble courage of Vorontzoff, ſhe proteſted that the idea of the marriage they ſo much dreaded had never once entered her mind; that it was poſitively without her knowledge that ſuch an odious intrigue had been carried on; and that, as Beſtucheff was the author of it, ſhe would reſent it on him. Nevertheleſs her majeſty took care not to be ſevere with the old man, who, in perfect harmony with her, only ſought to ſooth her inclinations, and whom ſhe thought it ſtill neceſſary to indulge in his humours.

Beſtucheff thus ſaw his project fail without apparently receiving any ſhock to his influence. He was, on the contrary, every day better received

ceived by the empreſs and the favourite, while Vorontzoff experienced from them nothing but coldneſs. Thoroughly now convinced that too much zeal for the glory of Catharine was not always the means of pleaſing her, and that his diſgrace was already determined, Vorontzoff was eager to prevent a forced retreat by a voluntary exile. He gave out that his health was impaired by the labours of the cabinet; and under pretext of recovering it, he aſked permiſſion to travel for two years in foreign countries. The empreſs, who found his preſence rather irkſome, granted him leave with ſecret ſatisfaction; notwithſtanding that ſhe feigned a regret at his departure. In public ſhe ſhewed him great reſpect and goodwill, and audibly intreated him to haſten his return to reſume the functions of an adminiſtration which he filled, as ſhe ſaid, ſo ſucceſsfully for the happineſs of the empire.

In the mean time the apprehenſion of ſeeing Catharine beſtow herſelf on the daring adventurer who had lent a hand to precipitate from the throne her unfortunate huſband, occaſioned violent murmurs. Several ineffectual plots were ſet on foot againſt her and her favourite. One of them for a moment was on the point of ſucceeding. A guard ſtood at Orloff's door, as

at that of the empreſs. One of the centinels, by means of a bribe, had promiſed to deliver him aſleep to three of the conſpirators. But the hour was wrongly marked; and when the conſpirators appeared, the centinel who was to have ſeconded them, had already been relieved by another. This latter, aſtoniſhed at ſeeing three men applying for admiſſion into Orloff's apartment, made ſo much noiſe as to bring together others of the guards. The conſpirators had but juſt time to eſcape under favour of the uniform they wore.

This movement ſpread alarm over the palace. Catharine was rouſed. Imagining that her life was not in ſafety at Moſco, ſhe haſtened to quit that city, and return to St. Peterſburg. The day of her departure was ſignalized by demonſtrations of inſolent joy approaching to rage. Her cypher had been placed on a triumphal arch in the great place of Moſco: the populace tore it down, and broke it to pieces after having dragged it through the mire.

Catharine arrived at St. Peterſburg the day of the anniverſary of her acceſſion to the throne. Well knowing that for overawing the minds of the vulgar, it is neceſſary often to dazzle their eyes, ſhe omitted nothing for rendering her entry

entry magnificent and ſolemn. Her carriage was preceded by all the regiments of guards, and followed by thoſe of the foreign miniſters, and the numerous train of courtiers whom ambition and vanity had drawn to her ſuite. This pompous ſpectacle, however, had not the effect that Catharine had expected from it. It raiſed more aſtoniſhment than joy, and tended only to increaſe the irritation of the public mind. The number of malcontents augmented. Conſpiracies were multiplied, and became more dangerous by the names of conſequence that were aſſociated to them. The public report counted among the enemies of Catharine the moſt powerful perſonages of the empire, and even thoſe who had ſerved her with the utmoſt aſſiduity and zeal. The hetman Razumoffſky, count Panin, and his brother *, were of this number; and it ſeemed certain that if theſe different conſpirators could have turned their eyes on a prince worthy of being the central object of their wiſhes, Catharine would have loſt the crown. But ſome wanted to raiſe Paul Petrovitch to the throne, while others were deſirous of recalling the unhappy Ivan; and all embarraſſed, all irreſolute,

* General Panin, brother of the miniſter, gained conſiderable reputation in the firſt turkiſh war.

they alike formed the plan of dethroning the empreſs, without agreeing on the ſucceſſor to be given her.

Catharine, ſecretly advertiſed of the deſign of Panin and of Razumoffſky, was for a moment ready to have them arreſted: but having only ſuch evidence as was but little to be relied on, and ſuſpicions in which ſhe might be deceived, ſhe felt, after all, that by an ill-timed ſeverity againſt men of ſuch high conſideration, ſhe ran the riſk of occaſioning a general inſurrection. She thought it might be expedient to employ a little artifice: a means which had frequently been of uſe to her.

Although, ſhortly after the revolution which had placed her on the throne, ſhe had repaid with ſeeming ingratitude the devotedneſs and fortitude of princeſs Daſhkoff, and even ſince ſhe had been forced to recal her to court, ſhe behaved to her with ſufficient coolneſs, ſhe now feigned all at once to wiſh to reſtore her to her confidence. She made no doubt that princeſs Daſhkoff had a ſhare in the plots that were hatching by her old friends. She knew her to poſſeſs a reſolute ſoul; but ſhe alſo knew that ſhe was precipitate and imprudent. She was therefore in hopes of being able to draw out of her ſome confeſſions that might clear up her doubts,

doubts. She wrote her a very long letter, wherein, after laviſhing upon her the moſt tender epithets, the moſt advantageous promiſes, and the moſt ſeducive flatteries, ſhe conjured her, in the name of their long-ſtanding friendſhip, to reveal to her what ſhe knew of the recent conſpiracies; aſſuring her, at the ſame time, that ſhe would grant a full pardon to all that were concerned. Princeſs Daſhkoff, nettled that Catharine ſhould think to make of her an inſtrument of her vengeance, as ſhe had made her that of her elevation, replied, in no more than four lines to the four pages ſhe had received from the empreſs. This was her anſwer: "Madam, I have heard nothing: but if I had "heard any thing, I ſhould take good care how "I ſpoke of it. What is it you require of me? "That I ſhould expire on a ſcaffold? I am "ready to mount it."

Aſtoniſhed at ſo much haughtineſs, and not hoping to conquer it, Catharine attempted to attach to her thoſe whom ſhe dared not to puniſh. Some of the ſubaltern conſpirators, who had been arreſted, and yet kept an obſtinate ſilence on their accomplices, were baniſhed to Siberia: but Panin and Razumoffſky received ſeveral additional marks of favour.

However,

However, as plots were inceſſantly renewing, and as the clemency exhibited towards the guilty ſeemed to harden them in guilt, Catharine declared that, for the future, ſhe would not conform to the edict by which the empreſs Elizabeth had promiſed never to ſuffer a criminal to be ſentenced to death. She thought it unhappily impoſſible to keep the Ruſſians in order by any other means than by the dread of puniſhment. She afterwards ſaw that this dread was not a ſufficient check to their exceſſes. In fact, the only means of diminiſhing the number of criminals is to diſſeminate inſtruction, ſolemnly to eſtabliſh the principles of ſound morality, and to honour thoſe who put them in practice. While legiſlators have been for ever multiplying laws againſt vice, they have always been too negligent of making inſtitutions in favour of virtue.

Catharine was invariably ſenſible of the benefits ariſing from ſuch inſtitutions, and neglected nothing of all that ſeemed likely to promiſe a tendency to the proſperity of her empire. At the very time when ſhe had the ſtrongeſt reaſons to apprehend for the ſafety of her perſon, ſhe was buſied in all the particulars of government with as much aſſiduity and calmneſs as if her reign was to be everlaſting. She founded colleges

leges and hoſpitals in every part of her empire. She encouraged commerce and induſtry; ſhe ordered new ſhips of war to be put upon the ſtocks.

In regard to commerce, Peter III. on the 7th of April 1762, had iſſued an important and expreſs decree: Catharine took it into conſideration on the 11th of Auguſt, on the propoſal of the ſenate, where ſhe was preſent, found much of it to confirm, but likewiſe many things to omit and to improve; and executed on the ſame day, with her own hand, the imperial edict: in which it is ſaid:—"On the whole ſurface of the "earth there is no country better adapted for "commerce than our empire. Ruſſia has ſpa- "cious harbours in Europe; and over land the "way is open through Poland to every region. "Siberia extends, on one ſide, over all Aſia; "and India is not very remote from Oren- "burg; but on the other ſide it ſeems to touch "upon America. Acroſs the Euxine is a paſ- "ſage, though as yet unexplored, to Ægypt "and Africa: and bountiful Providence has "bleſſed the extenſive provinces of our empire "with ſuch gifts of nature, as can as rarely be "found as they are wanted in all the four "quarters of the world."

During

During Catharine's reign theſe ſplendid advantages have been improved to an eminent degree. Courland on the Baltic, with its havens, was ſubjected by her to the ruſſian ſceptre; and on the oppoſite ſide of Europe the Euxine laves her extenſive conqueſts: Otchakof, Kherſon, the Krim, and the Kuban, bear witneſs to the force of her arms. The ſails of her ſhips of commerce and of war are ſpread in the Mediterranean. On the greek iſlands the ruſſian banners are diſplayed. Her troops opened a road into Ægypt, and there in 1772 fought in ſupport of Ali-bey againſt the Turks. The free inhabitants of the extreme north-eaſtern point of Aſia, the Tſchuktſches, were at length obliged to ſubmit; and a channel of no great width (the freights of Behring) there only divides the empire from America. A multitude of ruſſian iſlands, of various dimenſions, in the northern part of the ſouthern ocean, the Kurilli and ſeveral additional acquiſitions, connect it with other iſlands, and even with the continent of the fourth quarter of the world: nay, even upon that the Ruſſians have got firm footing. The increaſe of navigation by theſe acquiſitions, and the extremely lucrative commerce in the furs here procured, the coſtly ſkins of the ſea-otter and other ani-

mals, is of the utmoſt conſequence. The differences that aroſe with China in 1778 are at length compromiſed; and if no more caravans go from Moſco to Pekin, yet the merchants of theſe two great empires proſecute their trade together, and perhaps better, in the frontier town of Kiachta and Maimatſhin. Orenburg in aſiatic Ruſſia is excellently ſituated for commercial intercourſe with the Eaſt Indies: the caravans require only three months for the whole journey: accordingly, at the half-way thither, at Balk, a town in Bactriana or Khoraſan, ruſſian and eaſt-indian caravans already meet together.

Well-founded as all this evidently is, yet we have ſeen that it is poſſible for unfavourable occurrences completely to annihilate the advantages of this whole ſituation at leaſt on a very important ſide. When, in the year 1788, Sweden, Poland, Pruſſia, the Turks, and an engliſh fleet, had cloſely combined in a war againſt Ruſſia, this great empire was in a manner cut off from all trade and commerce with the reſt of Europe. So true it is, that the bare "gifts of nature, "wherewith Providence has bleſſed the exten- "ſive provinces of Ruſſia," are not able to procure her the balance; ſo greatly do the articles of finer manufacture and of luxury outweigh in commerce the indiſpenſable neceſſaries of life.

This

This Catharine knew very well towards the latter end of her reign; and therefore by a policy, the ſoundneſs of which is not ſo apparent, ſhe prohibited, with unexampled ſeverity, the importation of almoſt all wrought goods from abroad, which ſerve only to conveniency and pleaſure.

Commercial regulations are naturally ſubject to alteration. Accordingly nothing more circumſtantial can here be adduced on the ſubject. It will ſuffice to give a farther ſketch, to ſhew the ſpirit of the laws. The corn trade is, in conſideration of a moderate duty, entirely free; only all exportation immediately ceaſes, when the market price in the country exceeds ſuch a ſum, which for the various provinces is differently ſettled:—a regulation which, whether beneficial or not, it is well known, is the ſame in England. This limitation of the exportation does not attach to corn of the growth of Poland, which may at all times be ſhipped for the foreigner, in order not to oppreſs this branch of commerce. Siberia may never ſend corn out of the country. The condition of a ſtated market price in the country does not affect the exportation of linſeed; but of horned cattle it does. The port of Archangel was favoured equally with that of St. Peterſburg. The export of fine and coarſe linens, againſt the uſual prohibition, was permitted; that of linen yarn

yarn remained prohibited. Several monopolies belonging to private individuals and whole trading companies were aboliſhed; indeed by an arbitrary ſtep, but certainly with beneficial effect to the country: neither did the government exempt itſelf. The trade in rhubarb, in pot-aſhes and wood-aſhes, belonging excluſively to the crown, was now declared open to every one. An end was thenceforth put to the caravan trade of the crown to China: and alſo the contracting for the ſea-dog fiſhery, other fiſheries, and the tobacco trade; the monopoly of ſugar-works, and of chintz manufactories; the excluſive right of one man to import foreign ſilk: the trading companies to Perſia, China, and the Bukharèy; the company to the Euxine and the Mediterranean, from Temernikof, a town on the Don. Every perſon may freely trade in all theſe commodities and to all theſe countries. Only a limitation took place in the aſiatic commerce, but to the ſecurity and the greater profit of the ruſſian merchants themſelves. To them only two ports were aſſigned on the Caſpian, Baku and Sinſili, there to keep market, and wait the arrival of the perſian merchants. It is farther regulated, that they muſt there tax the ſeveral commodities intended for Perſia, the Bukharèy, &c. in the preſence of the reſident imperial conſul: the like

muſt be done by the merchants of Aſtrakhan and Orenburg; and enter into a bond with one another not to ſell any thing below the fixed price, under penalty of confiſcation; that the foreigners may not profit by the ſpoiling of the market by the ruſſians themſelves.

The tobacco trade was next declared free; proper meaſures were likewiſe taken in February 1763, conducive to the better culture of it in the Ukraine*, where it may be made to flouriſh ſo well from the excellent quality of the ſoil.

The coinage was afterwards frequently altered. In December 1763 Catharine decreed, that the proportion of the gold to the ſilver coin ſhould be as 1 to 15. An error almoſt general throughout Europe is, in the having of a twofold ſtandard, as if they imagined it poſſible to fix by legiſlation a proportion that, from commerce and in its own nature, is always fluctuating. The gold ſhall be of a fineneſs of 88 ſolotniks; the ſilver of 72. Out of a pound of ſuch gold ſhall be ſtruck 31 imperials and 2 rubles $88\frac{8}{9}$ copeeks; out of a pound of ſilver ſo alloyed 17 rubles $6\frac{4}{7}$ copeeks. Siberia had a coinage (with the arms

* The ſclavonian parent-word is Krai, *the border*; and u, *on* or *near*. The primary import, therefore, of Ukrainer is *borderer*, from ukraine, *on the borders*. Hence the Ukern (in the mark Brandenburg), the Krainer and the Ukrainer.

of

of that kingdom, two wolves, which was not to be current beyond the confines of the government) aſſigned it, of the copper peculiar to the mines of Kolyvan, which is impregnated with gold and ſilver, obtained by the ſmelting away of the ſilver ore, the tranſport whereof would be too difficult, and its farther ſeparation from the noble metals too expenſive. The pood of this copper contains $1\frac{3}{96}$ ſolotniks of fine gold, and $31\frac{3}{96}$ ſolotniks of ſilver*.

About this time Poniatoſſky renewed his ſollicitations for permiſſion to viſit Peterſburg. The empreſs would not liſten to them, but aſſured him of her conſtant friendſhip, of which ſhe promiſed to give him convincing proofs on all occaſions. Nor was it long before ſhe realized her promiſe.

Towards the end of this year Catharine gave a proper form to the ſupreme college of the empire, the directing ſenate, which had been inſtituted by Peter I. In order to give an eaſier, plainer, and more rapid courſe to the buſineſs of it, ſhe divided the ſenate into ſix departments, whereof the four former ſhould have their ſeat in St. Peterſburg, and the two latter in Moſco. In ſome particulars ſhe removed incumbrances, in others ſhe made new regulations, and diffuſed

* For the relative proportions of theſe weights, monies, &c. ſee before, p. 56. 58.

through the whole a ſpirit of ſimplicity and order.

Undoubtedly many of theſe new inſtitutions were rather preparatory than finiſhed works; undoubtedly ſeveral plans were ſketched out by her, and even put in execution under her eyes, of which, in the far diſtant parts of her vaſt empire, no trace is any longer to be ſeen; undoubtedly ſome things had more of ſhow and a ſhining outſide than of an exactly calculated utility. But only as preparatives, even only as reform in the more proximate ſphere of action, even only as the diſplay of a truly imperial magnificence, they could not be unattended by important conſequences. All men ſaw that the comprehenſive mind of Catharine embraced all objects; they were convinced of her activity and of her benevolence, (and what higher qualities can the ruler of a people poſſeſs?) of her treaſures and her magnanimity. They were the capital towns, they were the colleges of the empire that gained another form, and which muſt naturally, though ſlowly, operate upon the provinces. A new vital ſpirit was infuſed into the nation, a more elevated impetus into all minds. To this greatly contributed even the perſonal reverence paid to the beautiful, the ſpirited woman, the glow of enthuſiaſm for the monarch whom foreigners praiſed,

praiſed, whom the univerſe admired. The court was brilliant and agreeable; in the expenditure of large ſums, magnificence, taſte, and laſting enjoyment were ſtudied. Foundations for the cultivation of arts and literature, ſuperb embelliſhments of the reſidence and other towns, regulations for uſe and convenience were manifeſt to every beholder. Milder and more amicable diſpoſitions began to appear; induſtry and diligence were quickened, and by their means the comforts of life were more widely diffuſed; the nation was no longer dependent on the foreigner; and ruſſian ſhips were ſeen riding at anchor in the ports of Cadiz and Leghorn.

CHAP. IV.

State of Poland from the time of the kings of the firſt race to the death of Auguſtus III. — Election of prince Poniatofſky. — Freſh conſpiracy at St. Peterſburg — Journey of the empreſs into Livonia. — Aſſaſſination of prince Ivan in the caſtle of Schluſſelburg. — Puniſhment of Mirovitch, and other events of 1763, 1764, &c.

POLAND, which had ſometimes acted ſo conſpicuous a part in the politics of Europe, and which, from the extent of its territory, the fertility of its ſoil, the high ſpirit and courage of its inhabitants, ſeemed formed for acquiring a ſtill greater preponderance, has loſt, by the defects of its government, a part of the advantages it had received from nature.

This kingdom had long been under the influence of Ruſſia; and that influence had become the more powerful under Catharine, as, independently of the army of Romantzoff, encamped on the banks of the Viſtula, 50,000 men had taken up their quarters in Livonia, Eſthonia, and Courland. Auguſtus III. declining in his health, as well from the irregularities of his life

as from the vexation occaſioned him by the invaſion of Saxony, was now verging faſt to the grave. All ſuch as had formed pretenſions to the ſucceſſion, accordingly began to examine their ſtrength; and the court of Peterſburg was the centre of their intrigues. The aſpiring mind of Catharine was flattered at ſeeing herſelf the arbiter of theſe ambitious rivals. But, while ſhe thought proper to foment their diviſions and to encourage their hopes, ſhe was ſecretly decided in her choice. She was in want of a king, whoſe weakneſs and ſervility ſhe knew: ſhe made choice of Poniatoſſky.

It will not be uſeleſs here to caſt an eye upon the ſtate of that rich and unhappy country, which we ſhall ſee more than once exciting the ambition of Catharine, and which ſhe long continued to haraſs, the better to prepare it for being uſurped.

The hiſtory of Poland, like that of almoſt all the other countries of Europe, reaches back to an æra extremely remote, and filled with uncertainty. All that we know with tolerable preciſion is, that Poland at firſt was governed by a race of kings*, whoſe power was nearly abſolute. To this race ſucceeded the Piaſts,

* The race of Leſko.

(for ſo they uſually call their native ſovereigns,) who are thought to have been elective, but who, for ſeveral generations, preſerved the crown in their family. The kingdom was frequently diſturbed by the pretenſions of the magnats, who combined againſt the monarch, and oppoſed to him a power, which balanced that of the crown.

One of the laſt kings of the race of the Piaſts, Caſimir III. ſurnamed the great, or the father of the peaſantry, repreſſed the dangerous and always turbulent authority of the grandees, by conferring a variety of privileges on the inferior nobleſſe, and by that means alarming them with a dangerous rivalſhip. But that prince, however, generally guided by the dictates of juſtice, and how great ſoever his concern in behalf of the unhappy peaſants, was never able to mitigate the barbarous lot to which they are doomed in Poland.

Lewis of Hungary, nephew and ſucceſſor of Caſimir, was not in a capacity to benefit by the advantages that monarch had acquired, becauſe on beſtowing on him the crown, the nobility obliged him to ſubſcribe to burdenſome conditions. On the death of Lewis, without leaving a male heir, that turbulent nobility made an offer of the throne to Ladiſlaus Yagellon, duke of Lithuania, and impoſed on him the ſame conditions as had been accepted by Lewis. One of

theſe

theſe conditions was, not to raiſe ſubſidies without the conſent of the diets. His ſucceſſors were, equally with him, forced to be continually making new ſacrifices for obtaining the impoſts that were neceſſary to their government; and Sigiſmond Auguſtus was at length induced to conſent*, that at his death the crown ſhould become abſolutely elective. This prince, who had no ſon, was without difficulty brought to agree to make a declaration, by which he purchaſed his repoſe. In a ſhort time afterwards a charter was framed†, which became the baſis and guarantee of that privilege. The four principal articles of the charter were:

1. That the crown ſhould be elective; and that the king ſhould never appoint a ſucceſſor during his lifetime.

2. That general diets ſhould be aſſembled every two years.

3. That every nobleman of Poland ſhould have the right of voting at the election of a king.

4. That if the king ſhall preſume to infringe the laws, and to diſavow the privileges of the

* In the year 1550.

† Known under the name of *Pacta conventa*.

nation,

nation*, the ſubjects ſhall be abſolved from their oath of allegiance..

The privileges ſecured by this charter were ſtill farther extended; and all the ſucceſſors of Sigiſmond Auguſtus down to Staniſlaus Poniatoſsky incluſively, were only elected upon their ſwearing to maintain them. Could leſs then be expected from princes who received the crown as a matter of favour, and who, if they had not accepted it on theſe conditions, would have been obliged to forego it in favour of a leſs ſcrupulous competitor? The nobles, the more they increaſed their power, abuſed it the more. Not contented with freely granting their ſuffrages, they ſold them. Henry de Valois was the firſt who purchaſed, by means of promiſes and gold, the throne of the Yagellons; means which have ſince only yielded to the terror of arms.

On every acceſſion to the throne the nobility uſurped ſome additional privilege. During the reign of John Caſimir, the *liberum veto* was created.* This was a right given to each nobleman ſingly to put a ſtop to the deliberation of a whole diet, and to diſſolve it by the ſole act of his will; a right which has been one of the prin-

* That is to ſay, of the nobles; for the reſt is counted for nothing.

cipal

cipal ſources of the troubles, the anarchy, and the total deſtruction of Poland.

But by ſuch an extent of power as every nobleman had, we may form a judgment of that enjoyed by the palatines*, the great officers, and, in general, all the wealthy Poles. Sometimes they raiſed regiments independent on the authority of the king; at other times they formed confederacies, which, under pretence of defending the laws, ſowed ſedition and revolt, and in the ſacred name of liberty exerciſed the abſurdeſt tyranny.

It is the blind ambition of the poliſh nobles that has been for three hundred years gradually conſummating the ruin of their country. That

* In Poland are 32 palatines, who are properly governors of provinces, 3 caſtellans, and 1 ſtaroſt. Though the quality of the two latter be inferior to that of a palatine, yet there are four of them who poſſeſs the firſt ranks amongſt the temporal nobles, the caſtellan of Cracow being the firſt of all. The office of a palatine is to lead the troops of his palatinate to the army; to preſide in the aſſemblies of the nobility in his province; to ſet a price upon merchandizes and commodities; to take care that the weights and meaſures be not altered; and to judge and defend the jews. He has a vice-palatine under him, who muſt take an oath to him, and who ought to have an eſtate in land, which they call *poſſeſſionatus*. To theſe follow the order of nobility, who are alone capable of poſſeſſing all the offices and lands in the duchy and kingdom.

nation,

nation, naturally brave, which has often conquered the Ottomans, and which has given law to Pruſſia and to Ruſſia, has not been able, ſince theſe diſſenſions, to reſiſt any of the armies by which it has been attacked. The forces of the kings of Sweden, Charles Guſtavus and Charles XII. alternately found it an eaſy prey; and from the moment that the Ruſſians were able to oppoſe diſciplined troops to its brilliant and licentious poſpolite*, they have found themſelves in a capacity to dictate laws to the nation.

Under ſuch circumſtances the Poles called themſelves free. But what ſort of a freedom was that they enjoyed, even while they were exerciſing the boaſted right of electing their kings? The age in which we live has produced examples to the contrary; and one† of the men

* The military force of the Poles conſiſts chiefly in the *poſpolite*, that is, the whole body of the gentry, which, upon extraordinary occaſions, the king and the national general can order into the field to ſerve for a limited time. The inconvenience and inutility of this military inſtitution, in the preſent ſtate of the art of war, need not be inſiſted on. They have alſo a ſtanding army which ought to amount to about 40,000 men, but, from being undiſciplined, irregular, and incomplete, it is a body altogether contemptible, eſpecially the foot, as they conſiſt almoſt wholly of their wretched peaſants.

† Sarniſky.

who

who beſt underſtood their hiſtory, has defied them to ſhew but two inſtances of a free election.

There is ſcarcely a great potentate in Europe that has not had more or leſs influence in theſe elections: but for upwards of fifty years Ruſſia has been the only power by which they have been actually directed.

Such was the ſituation of Poland when the death of Auguſtus III.* revived the cabals of the pretenders to the throne, and furniſhed Catharine the means of diſplaying her political talents with the utmoſt effect. That ſovereign, whom the courts of Vienna and Verſailles were in hopes of detaching from Pruſſia, began her operations by artfully obtaining from thoſe courts an aſſurance that they would not interfere in the affairs of Poland. In 1764, the marquis de Paulmy, ambaſſador from France at Warſaw, declared† at the diet, that Lewis XV. would have nothing to do in the election of the new king; and ſhortly after the count de Mercy held the ſame language on the part of Maria Thereſa.

The promiſe of theſe two courts, however, was not ſufficient for Catharine. She was de-

* The 5th of October. † The 16th of March.

ſirous

ſirous of ſome aſſurance that ſhe ſhould not be thwarted by that of Berlin: in this ſhe ſucceeded. Frederic had long been ſolliciting her to ſign a treaty of defenſive alliance; and ſhe coveted it the more as ſhe had employed ſo much art in inducing him to deſire it. Imagining that the delays which ſhe made to the concluſion of this buſineſs aroſe only from the repugnance ſhe had to a miniſter* who had been the friend of her huſband, the pruſſian monarch made choice of a plenipotentiary who ſhould neceſſarily be more agreeable to that princeſs: he ſent to St. Peterſburg the count of Solms, who had married a princeſs of Anhalt-Bernburg, couſin-german to Catharine. The count de Solms was extremely well received by the empreſs, with whom he ſhortly after, in the name of the king of Pruſſia, concluded a treaty, ſubjoined to which was the ſecret article as follows:

"It being for the intereſt of his majeſty the king of "Pruſſia and of her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, "to exert their utmoſt care and all their efforts for main-"taining the republic of Poland in its ſtate of free election, "and that it ſhould not be permitted to any one to render "the ſaid kingdom hereditary in his family, or to make "himſelf abſolute therein; his majeſty the king of Pruſſia "and her imperial majeſty have promiſed and mutually en-"gage themſelves, in the moſt ſolemn manner, by this

* The baron de Goltz.

"ſecret

" ſecret article, not only not to permit any one, whoever " he be, to attempt to diveſt the republic of its right of " free election, to render the kingdom hereditary, or to " make himſelf abſolute therein, in all caſes whenever ſuch " attempt ſhould be made; but alſo to prevent and to fruſ- " trate, by all poſſible means, and in common conſent, the " views and deſigns that have a tendency to that end, as " ſoon as they ſhall be diſcovered, and even, in caſe of ne- " ceſſity, to recur to the force of arms, to defend the re- " public from the overthrow of its conſtitution and its " fundamental laws.

" The preſent ſecret article ſhall have the ſame force and " vigour as if it had been inſerted word for word in the " principal treaty of defenſive alliance ſigned this day, and " ſhall be ratified at the ſame time.

" In virtue whereof two ſimilar copies of it have been " made, which we, the miniſters plenipotentiary of his ma- " jeſty the king of Pruſſia, and of her majeſty the empreſs " of all the Ruſſias, authorized to that purpoſe, have ſigned " and ſealed with the ſeal of our arms.

" Done at St. Peterſburg, the 11th of April (the " 31ſt of March O. S.) 1764.

" C. DE SOLMS. PANIN. GALLITZIN."

The new ſovereign of Saxony, who flattered himſelf with the proſpect of inheriting the throne of Auguſtus III. as he had inherited his electorate, addreſſed himſelf to the empreſs, to prevail upon her to approve his pretenſions: but ſhe made no heſitation to deprive him of all hope. She wrote to him, " That ſhe adviſed him, as " a true friend, not to expoſe his intereſts in an

" affair

« affair which in the iſſue could not anſwer his « expectations."

Conſcious of her power in Poland, Catharine diſmiſſed, one after another, the candidates who were not agreeable to her, without, however, giving any intimation as yet concerning the perſon whom ſhe intended to favour. The greater number of the Poles were for electing a Piaſt, a deſcendant of their ancient kings. Catharine alſo for ſome time appeared to be of the ſame ſentiment. But all at once it was heard with amazement at Warſaw, that it was count Poniatoſsky whom that monarch had deſtined to the throne. This choice excited an almoſt univerſal diſcontent and violent murmurs. The poliſh magnats, incenſed at the proſpect of being governed by a young man* of a birth not very illuſtrious, and whoſe elevation was neither juſtified by ſhining actions nor extraordinary virtues, reciprocally interrogated one another, what ſervices count Poniatoſsky had rendered the republic, to entitle him to ſo glorious a reward?

Count Poniatoſsky was endowed with thoſe qualities which are more adapted to conciliate the friendſhip of particular perſons, than to fit him for ſwaying a ſceptre. Tall, well-made, of a figure at once commanding and agreeable, he

* He was at that time 32 years of age.

ſpoke

ſpoke and wrote with fluency the ſeven principal languages of Europe, and in a graceful diction: but he poſſeſſed only a ſlight knowledge of affairs. His eloquence was vague and deſultory, his preſumption too apparent. Rather weak than gentle, rather prodigal than generous, he might eaſily miſlead women, and dazzle a thoughtleſs multitude, but not perſuade men of cultivated minds. He was doubtleſs fitter to ſubmit to be governed than to govern himſelf. Nevertheleſs, ſupported by the influence and arms of Ruſſia, and having no obſtacle to fear on the part of other powers, his triumph was not long in ſuſpenſe. The conſequence of Catharine was involved in this triumph. That princeſs ſet ſo great a value on ſeeing the crown of the Sarmates on the brow of her former favourite, that ſhe wrote without delay to count Kayſerling, her ambaſſador at Warſaw, to employ every means in behalf of Poniatoſſky. One of her letters was intercepted, and contained the following words:—"Mon cher comte, ſouvenez-"vous de mon candidat. Je vous écris ceci "deux heures après minuit: jugez ſi la choſe "m'eſt indifférente *!"

* "My dear count, remember my candidate. I write "this to you at two o'clock in the morning; judge whether "I am indifferent about the affair!"

Count Kayſerling was careful not to diſobey. Neither he nor the ruſſian generals neglected any thing for ſecuring the choice which their ſovereign deſired. The dyetines were already convoked. That of Warſaw elected Poniatoſſky by an unanimous ſuffrage; but whatever pains had been taken for bringing thoſe of the provinces to the ſame favourable diſpoſition, his ſucceſs was not the ſame. His competitors obtained a majority of voices in ſome, and at leaſt an equal number with his in the others.

At the aſſembling of the diet of convocation, the ruſſian troops entered Warſaw, under pretence of preſerving liberty and order.

Crowds of foreigners at the ſame time poured into that city, all ready to unite at the very firſt ſignal. Count Branichky, grand general of the crown, and prince Radzivil, took arms in order to prevent the Ruſſians from extorting the ſuffrages: but what could they do againſt foreign armies who were maſters of the country; and againſt a part of their countrymen diſpoſed to join thoſe armies? It is a difficult matter to form an adequate idea of the tumult that began to prevail in the diet of Warſaw. Count Malakoffky, venerable for his great age and his virtues, had been appointed its marſhal. He endeavoured in vain to reduce it to order, and

to

to clear it of ſtrangers. He was anſwered by furious vociferations, and ſabres were drawn. The eloquent Mokranoſſky, nuncio of Cracow, ran the riſk of his life under the ſwords of the ruſſian officers, who endeavoured to pierce him from the galleries of the ſpeakers. He at firſt thought of ſtanding on his defence; but, preſently returning his ſabre into the ſheath, and expoſing his breaſt:—"If you muſt needs have "a victim," ſaid he to the Ruſſians, "I ſtand "here before you. But at leaſt I ſhall die "free, as I have hitherto lived."—It is not improbable that he would have fallen a prey to their fury, had not prince Adam Chartorinſky had the generous courage to throw himſelf in the way, and to ſhield him with his body. Thus, in the firſt ſittings of the diet nothing paſſed but injurious ſpeeches, and tumultuous quarrels.

Some one at Peterſburg, who knew what diſpleaſure the election of Poniatoſſky would occaſion to the Poles, and wanting to vilify him in the eyes of Catharine, had the boldneſs to tell that monarch, that he whoſe intereſt ſhe eſpouſed ſeemed the leſs proper to fill the throne of Poland, as his grandfather had been intendant of a little eſtate belonging to the princes Lubomirſky.—"Though he had been ſo himſelf,"

returned ſhe, ſomewhat nettled, "I will have "him to be king, and king he ſhall be."

Holding this language, Catharine was under no apprehenſions of being deceived. Independently of the troops which ſhe had already in Poland, ſhe cauſed a body of 12,000 men to enter Lithuania, and freſh reinforcements were advancing towards Kief. Her ambaſſador ruled at Warſaw, and her armies, if the expreſſion may be allowed, compreſſed the republic.

Several of the provinces now heavily accuſed their nuncios of having badly correſponded with their deſires in ſubmitting to the influence of the court of Peterſburg. They did not confine themſelves to murmurs. They had recourſe to arms; they formed into different confederacies; but theſe movements were attended by no conſequences. The Ruſſians threatened: the malcontents were preſently ſilenced.

At length the diet of election was opened; held, according to cuſtom, in the plain of Vola, at the diſtance of about three miles from Warſaw. This diet began by a ſolemn maſs, and a ſermon*. Count Kayſerling, ambaſſador from Ruſſia, being at that time indiſpoſed, could not

* The preacher took his text from theſe words: Eligite ex vobis meliorem, qui vobis placuerit, et poſuite eum ſuper ſolium. 2 Kings, x. 3.

repair

repair to Vola, but ſent to the diet a letter, addreſſed to him by the empreſs, recommending count Poniatoſſky in the moſt preſſing terms.

The other party, however, had not been idle, either during the election of the nuncios or repreſentatives, who, in the name of the body of the nobility, were to chuſe a king, nor at the firſt aſſembling of the ſtates *. In the former caſe great tumults were raiſed, but they ſubſiſted not long. In the latter twenty-two ſenators entered a proteſt againſt the proceedings of the diet, the principal reaſons of which were grounded on the preſence and interference of the foreign troops. Forty-five nuncios ſigned an act of adheſion to this proteſt.

Count Branichky, who was at the head of theſe proteſters, retired from the diet. But that aſſembly, ſoon after its opening, took its revenge. An order was made for diveſting him of the poſt of crown general. Branichky denied their power; drew together into one body a great part of that army of which they had attempted to deprive him, but which ſtill faithfully adhered to him; augmented it by levies; and prepared to maintain himſelf by force; poſſeſſed, as it

* May 7, 1764.

ſhould ſeem, by a ſpirit of deſpair and fury, having no power in the leaſt adequate to the height of his attempt. Prince Radzivil, on his part, was alſo up in arms, and with the ſame obſtinacy, and no greater ſtrength, ſtruggled againſt the election.

The ambaſſadors of France, Spain, and the empire, finding their political intrigues of no more avail towards obſtructing the election, than the hoſtile attempts of prince Radzivil and count Branichky were likely to be, retired from the diet and left Poland, declaring that they had not been ſent to a party, but to the entire republic*.

An action at length happened † between prince Radzivil and the ruſſian troops, wherein the Poles, having fought a long time with their uſual irregular bravery, were as uſual defeated by the Ruſſians.

The ſpirit of Poland appeared ſtrongly in all the circumſtances of this action. The princeſs Radzivil, but newly married, and a ſiſter of that prince, both of them young and beautiful, fought on horſeback with ſabres, and encouraged the ſoldiery both by their words and their example.

* June the 7th, 1764. † On the 3d of July.

Branichky

Branichky was alſo defeated by a body of Ruſſians; and theſe two nobles, the only very conſiderable perſons who oppoſed the ruſſian nomination, were obliged to fly out of their country, and to take ſhelter in the turkiſh dominions, where they particularly value themſelves on protecting the unfortunate; and theſe noble fugitives found refuge where Charles XII. had found it.

During all this time Poniatoſiky, accompanied by a great number of his friends, was viſiting each nuncio in particular, and endeavouring to gain them by teſtimonies of benevolence and flattering promiſes. The palatines being all aſſembled and ranged in order round the ſhopa*,

* The general diet for the election of a king is always held in the open field, about two miles from Warſaw, near the village of Vola, where a ſort of booth is erected, covered with boards, at the public charge, which in the poliſh language is called *ſhopa*, or a ſhelter from bad weather. This place is built and prepared by the treaſurer of the crown: it is ſurrounded with a ditch, and has three doors. The day appointed for the diet being come, the ſenate and the nobility proceed to St. John's church at Warſaw to hear the maſs of the holy ghoſt, to implore its influence in the election of a new king, who may have all the qualities neceſſary to defend the intereſts of the church and of the republic: after which they go to the ſhopa and proceed to buſineſs.

a large building open on all ſides, occupied by the ſenate and the equeſtrian order, the primate aſked with a loud voice, at three diſtinct periods, whom they would have for king? All anſwered unanimouſly:—"Count Poniatoſsky!"—The next day* he was proclaimed king of Poland, and grand duke of Lithuania, under the name of Staniſlaus Auguſtus. Thus the diet and the kingdom being freed, in the manner we have ſeen, from all thoſe who were the declared oppoſers of Poniatoſſky, the election was ſoon concluded in favour of that prince with an unanimity unknown in the annals of Poland.

The new monarch, on his return to Warſaw, paſſed along the ſtreets of that capital amidſt the acclamations of all the people, and from that very day took poſſeſſion of the palace of the republic. Some nuncios had abſtained from appearing at the diet; the greater part of the prime nobility took umbrage at the appointment of Poniatoſſky: but no ſooner was he on the throne than they came almoſt all to do him homage; and he began to reign in as much tranquillity as if his election had not been effected by violence †.

Some

* The 7th of September.

† Staniſlaus Poniatoſſky behaved at firſt with great judgment and circumſpection. He received with kindneſs thoſe who

Some time previous to this election, Catharine had declared her intention of viſiting the ſcene of

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who had acted ſeemingly in the moſt direct oppoſition to his intereſt. The ſon of count Bruhl exerted himſelf to his prejudice, and yet that prince left him in poſſeſſion of the poſt of grand maſter of the artillery which he had promiſed to count Branichky, palatin of Belſh, and of which indeed the latter had the generoſity not to wiſh to deprive him.—Soon after his election he received letters of congratulation from many of the courts of Europe. The moſt remarkable is that from the king of Pruſſia, written with his majeſty's own hand. From the matter and the occaſion, as well as the character of the writer, it is extremely worthy of being inſerted at length. Nothing can be more glorious than a communication of ſuch ſentiments in the intercourſe between ſovereigns. "Your majeſty muſt reflect, that, as "you enjoy a crown by election and not by deſcent, the "world will be more obſervant of your majeſty's actions than "of any other potentate in Europe: and it is but reaſonable. "The latter being the mere effect of conſanguinity, no more "is looked for (though much more is to be wiſhed) from "him, than what men are endowed with in common: but, "from a man exalted by the voice of his equals, from "a ſubject to a king, from a man voluntarily elected to "reign over thoſe by whom he was choſen, every thing is "expected that can poſſibly deſerve and adorn a crown. "Gratitude to his people is the firſt great duty of ſuch a "monarch: for to them alone (under Providence) he is "indebted that he is one. A king who is ſo by birth, if he "act in a manner derogatory to his ſtation, is a ſatire only "on himſelf; but an elected one, who behaves inconſiſtently

"with

of her ſucceſſes, and to make the tour of Livonia. But whilſt this monarch was employed abroad in diſpoſing of crowns, at home her throne ſeemed to be tottering under her; and that vaſt power, which extended to the remoteſt part of Aſia, which awed all Europe, and abſolutely governed ſo many of its neighbours, was not ſecure of its own duration for a moment. Every breath of a conſpiracy ſeemed to ſhake it: and ſuch was the critical ſtate of that empire, that the deſigns of the obſcureſt perſon in it were not unattended by danger.

In the courſe of this ſummer an event of that nature happened in Ruſſia which is highly deſerving of a place in hiſtory, from the extraordinary circumſtances by which it was accompanied, though ſo extremely myſterious and unaccountable in many particulars, that we deſpair of affording any clear ſatisfaction to the reader concerning them.

The empreſs, in purſuance of her intentions already mentioned, ſet out on her journey through Eſthonia, Livonia, and Courland. On

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" with his dignity, reflects diſhonour alſo on his ſubjects. " Your majeſty, I am ſure, will pardon this warmth. It is " the effuſion of the ſincereſt regard. The amiable part of " the picture is not ſo much a leſſon of what you ought to " be, as a prophecy of what your majeſty will be."

her

her way, ſhe paſſed over from Oranienbaum to Cronſtadt; and thinking to give the foreign miniſters an advantageous idea of her marine, ſhe invited them to follow her to that port. They did ſo: but the opinion they formed of her naval forces fell far ſhort of that which ſhe entertained of them herſelf. There was but a ſmall number of ſhips, which they judged but little adapted to keep the ſea; and the engliſh ambaſſador, with that frankneſs peculiar to his nation, did not diſſemble that her navy was far from appearing to him to be very formidable. She afterwards proved that it was poſſible for it to become ſo.

On quitting Cronſtadt her majeſty, having left the government of Peterſburg to count Panin, took the road of Livonia, accompanied by count Gregory Orloff and a ſmall retinue of nobility of both ſexes. During her abſence on this expedition, in the priſon of the dethroned Ivan an inſurrection broke out under the conduct of a certain Mirovitch, which coſt that unfortunate prince his life.

Ivan Antonovitch, ſtyled Ivan the third in the manifeſtos that were publiſhed in his name while emperor, was born in 1740; great grandſon of tzar Ivan Alexèyevitch, the elder half-brother

brother of Peter the great*. On running over the ſeries of ruſſian monarchs from Alexèy Michailovitch downwards, our feelings are at every moment hurt by the inteſtine diſturbances that have happened from different pretenders, of which ſo many within ſo ſhort ſpace of time, and in general attended with ſuch ſhocks, as no princely houſe in Europe has experienced, eſpecially in modern times. But a cruel fatality

* See the genealogical tables in the former part of this volume, tab. iii.

Ivan III. if we reckon by the line of the tzars, or VI. if from the firſt ſovereign of Ruſſia, was proclaimed emperor on the death of empreſs Anne, and Biren regent; but this high elevation was ſoon to be followed by a dreadful fall. The father and the mother of the young emperor were diſcontented at ſeeing themſelves excluded from the regency; and the inſolence with which they were treated by Biren increaſed their diſpleaſure. Munich, on his part, not having obtained from the regent what he thought due to his ſervices, joined himſelf to thoſe princes, and, in the night between the 20th and 21ſt of November, Manſtein, aid-de-camp to Munich, arreſted the regent. The princeſs Anne cauſed herſelf to be proclaimed regent during the minority of her ſon. The whole nation rejoiced at being freed from an abominable tyrant: he was conducted to Schluſſelburg, tried, and condemned to death: but his puniſhment was mitigated to an exile for life in Siberia. This exile was again moderated, by transferring him to Yaroſlaf, where he remained till 1762, when Peter III. as we have already ſeen, recalled him to court; and he was ſhortly after reſtored to his dukedom by Catharine.

ſeems,

ſeems, in a particular manner, to have propagated the ſeeds of diſcord between the families of the two imperial brothers.

We have ſeen him ſeized and confined with his parents and relations; at firſt conveyed to the citadel of Riga, then in the fortreſs of Dunamund; thence removed to Oranienburg, at the ſouth-eaſtern extremity of european Ruſſia. At all theſe places the being together alleviated the miſeries of impriſonment, and eſpecially the humane behaviour of captain Korf, which firſt awakened the gratitude of the infant emperor, and was all his life after recollected with emotion; ſolely on account of this lenity, the ſuſpicion of the court fell upon Korf*, and he was removed from his office. About the latter end of 1745, or the beginning of the year 1746, the family was ſeparated; all the reſt being brought more northward to Kolmogory, Ivan was left behind in Oranienburg. To his great misfortune it came into the mind of a monk to carry him off; in their flight they had reached Smolenſk, where the affair was diſcovered, and they were detained. From this place the wretched captive, lately the envied emperor of a quarter of the globe, was now brought, for greater ſecu-

* Afterwards promoted to the rank of general by Peter III.

rity,

rity, to Schluſſelburg, and there lodged in a caſematt of the fortreſs, the very loop-hole of which was immediately bricked up. He was never brought out into the open air, and no ray of heaven ever viſited his eyes. In this ſubterranean vault it was neceſſary to keep a lamp always burning; and as no clock was either to be ſeen or heard, Ivan knew no difference between day and night. His interior guard, a captain and a lieutenant, were ſhut up with him; and there was a time when they did not dare to ſpeak to him, not ſo much as to anſwer him the ſimpleſt queſtion. What wonder if his ignorance ſhould at length border on ſtupidity? This dreadful abode was however afterwards changed for that preſently to be deſcribed, in the corridor under the covered way, in the caſtle. Elizabeth cauſed him once to be brought in a covered cart to Peterſburg, and ſaw and converſed with him. Peter III. alſo viſited him incognito; and what paſſed on this occaſion has been already related. Catharine too had a converſation with him ſoon after the commencement of her reign, as ſhe relates in her manifeſto of the 28th of Auguſt 1764*, in order, as is there ſaid, to form a judgment of his under-

* See the Appendix at the end of the volume.

ſtanding and talents. To her great ſurpriſe ſhe found him to the laſt degree deficient in both. She obſerved in him a total privation of ſenſe and reaſon, with a defect in his utterance, that even had he any thing rational to utter, would have rendered him entirely unintelligible.

All perſons, however, were not ſo thoroughly convinced of the incapacity of this prince. He was now arrived at the age of twenty-four years, and he might evidently be made an inſtrument, or at leaſt a pretence, for exciting dangerous commotions. His juſt title to the crown, of which he had been formerly in poſſeſſion, his long ſufferings, without any other guilt than that poſſeſſion and that title, his youth, and even the obſcurity which attended his life, and which therefore gave latitude for conjecture and invention, formed very proper materials for working on the minds of the populace. At the moment when Catharine was taking her departure from the reſidence, ſhe had intelligence of freſh conſpiracies among the guards. Several of them were taken up: but experience having ſhewn that the detection of one conſpiracy always encouraged the hatching of ſome other; and, willing to avoid irritating the multitude by the frequency of puniſhments, the conſpirators were proceeded

proceeded againſt in private, and many of them were ſuffered to pine out their lives in priſon.

From the depth of this dungeon prince Ivan afforded hopes to thoſe who held in abhorrence the preſent uſurpation. It was for reſtoring the throne to this unfortunate captive that almoſt all theſe plots were formed. It was for his ſake that men, who had never ſeen him, and whoſe very exiſtence was utterly unknown to him, were continually braving the ſcaffold. Faithful to the ſyſtem of calumny that had been of ſuch ſervice to the deſtruction of Peter III. the court of Ruſſia inceſſantly employed it againſt Ivan. One while it was given out that he was ſtupid, and incapable of uttering articulate ſounds; at another, that he was a drunkard, and as ferocious as a ſavage. Sometimes it was even pretended, that he was ſubject to fits of madneſs, and believed himſelf a prophet. But many there were to whom theſe reports ſeemed no better than tales invented by the blackeſt malignity, and afterwards innocently propagated by perſons who did not reflect on the numberleſs intereſts that might concur in their invention. Doubtleſs, Ivan, to whom all kinds of inſtruction were refuſed*, and who was kept ſhut up in a loath-

* It however has been affirmed, that a german officer who for ſome time had the cuſtody of him, clandeſtinely taught him to read.

ſome

ſome priſon, denied the converſe of any human being from whom he could derive information, muſt neceſſarily have been of a very confined underſtanding; but there is ſtill a great diſtance between ignorance and imbecility or madneſs. What evidently proves that Ivan was neither mad nor ſtupid is, in the firſt place, the converſation he had * at count Schuvaloff's with the empreſs Elizabeth. Not only the graces of his figure and the accents of his voice, but the moving complaints he uttered, awakened the ſenſibility of all that were preſent, and even drew from the empreſs abundance of tears. If that young prince had committed ſome act of lunacy, would it have failed of publication? Again, afterwards we find a freſh proof of his good ſenſe and his ſenſibility in the diſcourſe which he held to Peter III. when he ſaw him, for the firſt time at Schluſſelburg. Baron Korf has faithfully tranſmitted it to us, as we have related it in a former part of this volume †. Peter III. talked with him ſeveral times afterwards, and perſiſted in his intention of declaring him his heir. Now it may well be imagined, that Volkoff, Gudovitch, and his other confidants, would have diſſuaded him from it, if they

* In 1756.

† See p. 211, 212.

could have brought themſelves to imagine Ivan likely to be for ever unfit to wear the crown. But, to conclude, whatever might be the character of that prince, the daring attempts that were repeatedly made in his favour did not render him leſs formidable to Catharine and to the tranquillity of the empire.

Chance ſoon furniſhed an inſtrument to put him out of the way of being any diſturbance to either. The regiment of Smolenſk was in garriſon in the town of Schluſſelburg; and a company of about 100 men guarded the fortreſs in which prince Ivan was confined. In this regiment, as ſecond lieutenant, was an officer named Vaſſily Mirovitch, whoſe grandfather had been implicated in the rebellion of the kozak Mazeppa, and had fought under Charles XII. againſt Peter the great. The eſtates of the family of Mirovitch had accordingly been forfeited to the crown. This young man, who had a good ſhare of ambition, preferred with warmth his pretenſions to have them reſtored; and this it was that made him known at court. The family-eſtates were not given back; but he was continually flattered with the hopes of their recovery, if he would ſhew himſelf active in ſecuring the tranquillity of the empire.

The

The inner guard placed over the imperial priſoner conſiſted of two officers, captain Vlaſſieff and lieutenant Tſchekin, who ſlept with him in his cell. Theſe had a diſcretionary order, ſigned by the empreſs, by which they were enjoined to put the unhappy prince to death, on any inſurrection that might be made in his favour, on the preſumption that it could not otherwiſe be quelled.

The door of Ivan's priſon opened under a ſort of low arcades, which, together with it, form the thickneſs of the caſtle-wall within the ramparts; in this arcade or corridor eight ſoldiers uſually kept guard, as well on his account, as becauſe the ſeveral vaults on a line with his contain ſtores of various kinds for the uſe of the fortreſs. The other ſoldiers were in the guard-houſe, at the gate of the caſtle, and at their proper ſtations. The detachment had for its commander an officer, who himſelf was under the orders of the governor.

It has been affirmed, that ſome time before the execution of his project, Mirovitch had opened himſelf to a lieutenant of the regiment of Veliki Luki, named Uſchakoff; and that Uſchakoff bound himſelf by an oath, which he took at the altar of the church of St. Mary of

Kazan * in St. Peterſburg, to aid him in the enterpriſe to the beſt of his power. But as this latter was drowned, a few days after this is ſaid to have happened, as he was aſſiſting in the launch of a veſſel; it is impoſſible to aſcertain the fact.

It is more apparent that he talked in vague terms of the conſpiracy with one of the valets of the court, and that he mentioned it afterwards to Simeon Tſchevarideff, lieutenant of artillery, and ſpoke of the advantages that would accrue from the reſcue of Ivan, and the delivering of him to the regiments of the guards. While he thought to raiſe his conſequence by putting on the air of a conſpirator without accomplices, he however ſaid nothing to Tſchevarideff poſitively either of the time or the manner of executing his plot.

He had already performed his week's duty in the fortreſs, without venturing an attempt. But, tormented by the anxieties ariſing from ſuſpenſe, and condemning his own irreſolution, he aſked permiſſion to be continued on guard for one week longer. This extraordinary ſtep ſeems not to have excited any ſuſpicions in a governor who was entruſted with ſo very important and critical a charge; and the requeſt of Mirovitch was granted him without heſitation.

* Vulgarly called the Kazanſkoi church.

After

After having admitted into his confidence a man of the name of Jacob Piſhkoff, he began at about ten o'clock on a fine ſummer's night *, to fall into converſation with three corporals and two common ſoldiers; and after tampering with them ſome time, and obviating ſuch difficulties as were ſuggeſted by their fears, they were ſoon gained over to his plan, and they promiſed to follow his orders. Nevertheleſs, whether from timidity or from precaution, they reſolved with one conſent to wait till the night was farther advanced. Between the hours of one and two in the morning, they came together again. Mirovitch and the corporals then procured about fifty † of the ſoldiers who were on guard to put themſelves under arms, and thus marched towards the priſon of Ivan. On the way they met Berednikoff, the governor of the fortreſs, whom they thought faſt locked in the arms of ſleep; but who, rouſed by ſome noiſe, whether made by them, or accidentally occaſioned, had come out to ſee what was the matter. The governor, authoritavely demanded of Mirovitch the reaſon of his appearance in arms at the head of the ſoldiers? Without returning any anſwer, Mi-

* The $\frac{4}{15}$th of July.

† It is probable that 38 was the exact number.

rovitch knocked him down with the butt end of his firelock, and, ordering ſome of his people to ſecure him, continued his march.

Having wounded and ſecured the governor, Mirovitch loſt no time to improve his advantage. Being arrived at the corridor into which the door of Ivan's chamber opened, he advanced furiouſly at the head of his troop, and attacked the handful of ſoldiers who guarded prince Ivan. He was received with ſpirit by the guard, who quickly repulſed him. He immediately ordered his men to fire upon them, which they did. The centinels returned their fire; when theſe conſpirators, at the ſame time the moſt deſperate and the moſt timid of mankind, were obliged to retire, though neither on one ſide nor the other was there a ſingle man killed, or even wounded in the ſlighteſt degree.

The ſoldiers of Mirovitch, ſurpriſed at the reſiſtance they met, ſhewed ſigns of an inclination to retreat. Their chief withheld them; but they inſiſted on his ſhewing them the order which he ſaid he had received from Peterſburg. He directly drew from his pocket and read to them a forged decree of the ſenate, recalling prince Ivan to the throne, and excluding Catharine from it, becauſe ſhe was gone into Livonia to marry count Poniatoſſky. The ignorant and credulous

credulous ſoldiers implicitly gave credit to the decree, and again put themſelves in order to obey him. A piece of artillery was now brought from the ramparts to Mirovitch, who himſelf pointed it at the door of the dungeon, and was preparing to batter the place; but at that inſtant the door opened, and he entered, unmoleſted, with all his ſuite.

The officers Vlaſſieff and Tſchekin, commanders of the guard which was ſet on the prince, were ſhut up with him, and had called out to the centinels to fire. But, on ſeeing this formidable preparative, and hearing Mirovitch give orders to beat in the door, they thought it expedient to take counſel together. And, firſt, they held it impoſſible to reſiſt ſuch a ſuperior force as that which they had lately beaten off. Then they took into conſideration the dreadful conſequences which muſt inevitably enſue, to the public peace and the ſafety of the empire, if their priſoner ſhould be enlarged; and, laſtly, they ſet before their eyes the puniſhment that would be inflicted on them by the government in caſe their charge ſhould be taken from them, though againſt their will, and after all poſſible reſiſtance.

On this conſultation, they came to the dreadful reſolution of aſſaſſinating the unfortunate cap-

tive, over whoſe life they were to watch, unterrified with the dangers which manifeſtly waited this horrid act, directly hanging over them from a deſperate force, which (to give any colour to their proceeding) they muſt have concluded irreſiſtible.

At the noiſe of the firing Ivan had awoke; and, hearing the cries and the threats of his guards, he conjured them to ſpare his miſerable life. But, on ſeeing that theſe barbarians had no regard to his prayers, he found new force in his deſpair; and, though naked, defended himſelf for a conſiderable time. Having his right hand pierced through and his body covered with wounds, he ſeized the ſword from one of the monſters, and broke it; but while he was ſtruggling to get the piece out of his hand, the other ſtabbed him from behind, and threw him down. He who had his ſword broke now plunged his bayonet into his body, and ſeveral times repeating his blow, under theſe ſtrokes the unhappy prince expired.

They then opened the door, and ſhewed Mirovitch at once the bleeding body of the murdered prince, and the order by which they were authoriſed to put him to death, if any attempt ſhould be made to convey him away.

Mirovitch,

Mirovitch, ſtruck with horror, at firſt ſtarted back ſome paces; then threw himſelf on the body of Ivan, and cried out: — "I have miſſed "my aim; I have now nothing to do but to "die." — But he preſently roſe up. So far from attempting to flee from the puniſhment which he muſt now foreſee, or to take his revenge on the two aſſaſſins by ſhooting them on the ſpot, he returned to the place where he had left the governor in the hands of his ſoldiers; and, ſurrendering to him his ſword, coldly ſaid: — "It "is I that am now your priſoner."

The next day the body of the poor unfortunate Ivan was expoſed before the church* in the caſtle of Schluſſelburg, clothed in the habit of a ſailor. As ſoon as it was known, immenſe crowds of people flocked thither from the neighbouring towns and from St. Peterſburg; and it is impoſſible to deſcribe the grief and indigna-

* An old lutheran church built of timber for the uſe of the garriſon while Nœteburg was in poſſeſſion of the Swedes, long before it was taken from them by Peter the great. The church is in a very decayed ſtate, full of rubbiſh, and not employed in any religious purpoſes. The painted altar is removed from its proper place at the eaſt end, and ſtands againſt the north ſide wall, and in its place filling the encloſure where the altar rails have been, is a large pile of deal planks, in a ſtate of rottenneſs: under this ſtack of wood the body of Ivan was thrown, where it lay for ſome time.

tion that were excited at the view of an unfortunate being, who, after having been cruelly precipitated from the throne while yet in his cradle, paſſed his days in a dark and doleful dungeon, where he was inhumanly put to death by aſſaſſins. Ivan was full ſix feet high, with a fine blond head of hair, a red beard, regular features, and of a complexion extremely fair: accordingly, the beauty of his perſon and his youth* heightened the ſenſibility that was univerſally diſcovered at the unhappineſs of his lot, and the cruelty of his murderers. His body was wrapt up in a ſheep-ſkin, put into a coffin, and inhumed without ceremony.

The concourſe and the murmurs increaſed to ſuch a degree that a tumult was now apprehended. To avoid any fatal conſequences to themſelves the two aſſaſſins Vlaſſieff and Tſchekin, as ſoon as they had perpetrated their crime, put themſelves on board of a veſſel which they found on the point of ſailing for Denmark, where, on their arrival, the ruſſian miniſter took them under his protection†.

The governor of Schluſſelburg diſpatched to Peterſburg a full relation of the horrid outrage

* He had not yet completed his 24th year.

† They ſhortly after returned to Ruſſia, and were advanced in the ſervice.

of

of Mirovitch, and of the tragical end of Ivan. He accompanied this account with a manifeſto that had been found in the pocket of Mirovitch, and which, it was ſaid, had been long fabricated in concert with lieutenant Uſchakoff. This manifeſto, which contained many ſcurrilous invectives and imprecations againſt Catharine, and repreſented prince Ivan as the ſole legitimate emperor, it was obſerved, was to have been publiſhed at the moment the prince was ſet at liberty and was making his entry into St. Peterſburg. Panin immediately ſent off a courier to the empreſs with an exact account of theſe particulars.

Her majeſty was then at Riga; and, under a viſible impatience of mind, was frequently inquiring after news from the reſidence: a circumſtance by no means unaccountable, if we conſider the frequent cauſes of alarm from plots and cabals with which ſhe had been inceſſantly harraſſed ſince the beginning of her reign. Her inquietude increaſed from day to day, and ſhe would often riſe in the night to aſk whether no courier was arrived*. Some perſons after-

* Theſe facts have often been confirmed by general Brown; who, being a good roman catholic, honeſtly attributed theſe perturbations of Catharine to ſupernatural preſentiments.

wards

wards recollected theſe circumſtances to her diſadvantage, as if ſhe was anxiouſly counting the days ſince the period when Mirovitch was ſtationed on guard *. At length, after three days had elapſed, the diſpatches of Panin were brought to hand.

The trial of the conſpirators was remitted to the ſenate; they condemned Mirovitch to death; and he was publicly executed † in purſuance of his ſentence. The inferior actors in this deſign did not ſuffer death, but were ſubjected to other puniſhments perhaps not leſs ſevere. The officers, who put the prince to death, were, in conſideration of their good intentions to the quiet of the ſtate, amply rewarded for their fidelity. A manifeſto appeared by authority ‡, giving an account of the whole procedure. It was filled with expreſſions of humanity and piety, which ſort of language ſeemed now to be the office ſtyle of the court of Peterſburg.

The public was much divided in opinion concerning the whole of this tranſaction. It

* The circumſtance that Mirovitch had ſuffered his week's duty on guard to expire before he could ſummon up courage enough to attempt the execution of his project, was not, on this occaſion, forgotten.

† September the 26th.

‡ See the Appendix at the end of the volume.

was

was thought inconceivable that an inſignificant private individual ſhould hazard an enterpriſe, that, if even at firſt all things ſhould go well, yet could never be proſecuted to final ſucceſs by him. That in the attack no one ſhould be hurt; that upon Ivan's death all ſhould be immediately as quiet as if nothing had happened; that no inquiry was ſet on foot about any accomplices in Peterſburg, of which there had been ſome talk at firſt; ſeemed to give room to ſurmiſe that ſimply this death was the object in view, and to this ſole end the whole machinery was directed. None of the court party could have done this ſervice to the abſent empreſs, without her knowledge and conſent. But, on the other hand, the ſlanderous manifeſto found upon Mirovitch was produced, which he intended to have publiſhed immediately upon his having Ivan in his poſſeſſion, and which count Panin, it was ſaid, had actually read and ſent to the ſovereign; but particularly the execution of the rebel: if indeed it were he, and not ſome unknown malefactor, who underwent that puniſhment, was urged in ſupport of their ſentiments by thoſe who eſpouſed the oppoſite ſide of the queſtion. — Let it ſuffice, the public emotions of pity and diſpleaſure at the ſad cataſtrophe of the imperial progeny, and himſelf once emperor, were plainly manifeſted by every kind of expreſſion.

The

The multitudes of people who, notwithſtanding all that could be done to check their impetuoſity, ſtill flocked to the caſtle, inſiſting on ſeeing the body, were ſo great, that the government was obliged to give orders to remove it from the caſtle-church, and convey it in the ſilence of the night with the utmoſt ſecrecy, to the monaſtery of Tichſina, 200 verſts from Peterſburg. Among the regiments of guards in that city, who thought they had the excluſive right to depoſe and to murder emperors, violent commotions aroſe; that eſpecially in the night of the 24th of July, cauſed the greateſt alarm: it was only by the prudent meaſure of prince Gallitzin, who cauſed powder and ball to be publicly diſtributed among the marching regiments that were encamped in the vicinity of Peterſburg, that tranquillity was reſtored. When the two officers by whom the prince was aſſaſſinated appeared at court, every one beheld them with looks of undiſſembled contempt and abhorrence.

Catharine's throne was now firmly eſtabliſhed. Even the angry ſpirit that perſecuted the family of Ivan ſeemed at length appeaſed. As her majeſty afterwards ſet at liberty the other members of it, it may be neceſſary to make ſome brief mention of them here. The parents and relations of the unfortunate young emperor had been brought to Kolmogory, a village-like town in the government

of

of Archangel, on an iſland of the Dvina. Here they dwelt poor and melancholy, in cloſe confinement. The mother, Anna Carlovna, died in child-bed, while Elizabeth was yet reigning, in March 1746, and was taken hence, and buried in the ſame monaſtery where afterwards Peter III. at laſt found reſt. The father, Anthony Ulric, died in 1776. He left behind him two princes, Peter and Alexey, two princeſſes, Catharine and Elizabeth, and ſeveral natural children: all, except the elder of the princeſſes, born in priſon. For a ſeries of ſeventeen years they were very ſeverely treated by Golovtzin, the laſt viceroy of Archangel. After his death, which happened in 1779, Catharine appointed in his place a man of more generous ſentiments, the general-governor Melgunef, who viſited the unfortunate captives, adminiſtered to them every conſolation in his power, took with him a letter from the princeſs Elizabeth to the empreſs; and, on delivering it, deſcribed their ſituation in ſuch affecting terms, that her majeſty immediately reſolved to open a negotiation with the court of Denmark. The dowager-queen of that kingdom, Juliana Maria, was a ſiſter of duke Anthony Ulric. In the following year, 1780, the buſineſs was brought to a concluſion: the accommodation was eaſy, as Catharine acted with her wonted

wonted magnanimity. If, as is probable, a deed of renunciation of all pretenſions to the ruſſian throne was required of the ſtate-priſoners in behalf of themſelves and their poſterity, it could not be a matter to occaſion any difficulty. The empreſs directly ſent them 200,000 rubles, to provide the family with clothes, plate, porcelaine, &c. befitting their rank. This ſhe accompanied with a preſent of rich furs and jewels from the imperial cabinet; and appointed perſons of quality to attend the princes and princeſſes on their voyage. At Archangel Melgunef firſt diſcovered to them their liberation, and the intended voyage to Denmark. They heard the news with ſorrow, and earneſtly intreated to be ſent back to their old priſon; till the perſuaſions of the generous Melgunef raiſed their ſpirits, and inſpired them with courage*. In July a frigate brought the whole family to Bergen in

* The Dowager-queen of Denmark, in the letter of thanks which ſhe wrote to the empreſs in terms of the tendereſt ſenſibility, highly extolled, as ſhe had reaſon to do, the behaviour of this worthy man in the whole of his conduct. This teſtimony ſaved him, on occaſion of an unmerited accuſation that was brought againſt him concerning his behaviour in this buſineſs, and which threatened him with imminent danger: and, on his having juſtified himſelf, to the ſatisfaction of all impartial judges, Catharine rewarded him with the order of St. Andrew, and made him many preſents beſides.

Norway,

Norway, where the princes and princeſſes were taken on board a daniſh ſhip, leaving the illegitimate children to return with the imperial frigate. The parting with theſe half-relatives excited the moſt painful emotions in the breaſts of the family. The moſt ſenſible of them, Elizabeth, ſurvived not long her grief and the ſhock her frame had received at this ſudden change of fortune. The four brothers and ſiſters of Ivan were, at the time when they obtained their liberty, between 30 and 40 years of age. The daniſh court aſſigned them the city of Horſens in Yutland, as the place of their reſidence. Towards their eſtabliſhment there Catharine preſented them with 20,000 rubles, and paid annually to the maintenance of their dignity 30,000 rubles. In October 1782, the princeſs Elizabeth died at Horſens; and her death was followed by that of her brother Alexèy in October 1787. The natural children of the duke of Brunſwic received in Ruſſia an annual penſion: one of them, a daughter named Amelia, after her return, married lieutenant Karikin, who, for twelve years, had the guard of the family at Kolmogory, and with whom ſhe had long been intimately acquainted.

To return to our hiſtory. Catharine ſoon after the ſhocking event that had happened at

Schluſſelburg, arrived from off her journey through the conquered provinces. On her entry into Peterſburg, ſhe was ſurrounded by an immenſe concourſe of people, who endeavoured to find out by her countenance what was paſſing in her heart; but, always miſtreſs of herſelf, the face of that princeſs was ever covered with ſmiles. Her ſtep was as firm, her front as ſerene, as thoſe who feel no inward reproaches uſually are.

Lieutenant-general Veymar had already been charged to repair to Schluſſelburg. After having privately examined Mirovitch and his accomplices, they were brought to Peterſburg, where their trial was opened before a commiſſion compoſed of five prelates, of an equal number of ſenators, and ſeveral general officers. Mirovitch appeared before the judges with all that tranquillity which only the hope of pardon can communicate to a criminal like him. He replied with a frivolous and often inſolent air to the interrogatories that were put to him. It is true that the judges themſelves ſeemed not to make it a matter of great importance, and rather appeared as if they dreaded to fathom this execrable myſtery. One alone * had ſo much ſenſe of propriety as to declare againſt ſuch an extraordi-

* He was a ſenator.

nary

nary mode of procedure. But he was blamed for his indiſcreet zeal, and adviſed to keep ſilence, if he would not loſe his office, and be degraded from his rank of nobleſſe. In fine, after ſome days ſpent in the trial, Mirovitch was condemned to loſe his head*, not as guilty of high treaſon, but only as a diſturber of the public peace. Unmoved at this ſentence, he walked to the ſcaffold like a man who had nothing to fear, and who thought himſelf ſure of obtaining a pardon, as indeed, according to a report, it had been promiſed him. But if he really reckoned on a pardon, he was cruelly deceived. The time for his execution was accelerated, and the unhappy wretch, if he had before been the inſtrument, was now the victim of a barbarous policy. Thoſe who conſidered him in the former point of view were aſtoniſhed that the empreſs ſhould ſuffer him to fall under the axe. But how could ſhe have ſcreened him from puniſhment without manifeſtly drawing upon herſelf the charge of having prompted his crime? and if ſhe were really concerned in it, can it be thought that ſhe would heſitate a moment in getting rid of a witneſs who would have expoſed her to everlaſting vexation?

* On the 26th of September.

Mirovitch was the only perſon condemned to death. The ſoldiers whom he had engaged to join him in the intended reſcue were puniſhed with various degrees of ſeverity. Piſhkoff, who was conſidered as the moſt guilty, was ſentenced to run the gantlet twelve times through a line of a thouſand men. The three corporals and the two fuzileers, ſeduced after Piſhkoff, were flogged ten times along the ſame line; after which they were put to the public works, with a log chained to their leg. The other ſoldiers who acted under the orders of Mirovitch were likewiſe whipped through the ranks; and after being incorporated in other regiments, were ſent into diſtant garriſons. Tſchevarideff was degraded from his rank of officer, for having heard without revealing the vague confidential communications of Mirovitch. Fifty-eight perſons were puniſhed. A great appearance of ſeverity was exerciſed againſt them; and this, among other circumſtances, was calculated to obviate any ſuſpicions that might ariſe concerning any more eminent inſtigators of their crime.

CHAP. V.

Diſcontents at Peterſburg. — Miſunderſtanding between the counts Gregory Orloff and Panin. — Viſſenſky becomes favourite of the empreſs. — Reſignation of the chancellor Vorontzoff. — Prince Radzivil at the head of the confederates. — The biſhop of Cracow carried off. — The duke de Choiſeul incites the Turks to declare war againſt Ruſſia. — Treaty entered into by the empreſs with England. — Tournament at Peterſburg. — Reform of the courts of juſtice. — Convocation of deputies from all the provinces of the empire. — Wiſe reply of the Samoyèdes. — Wicked attempt of Tſchoglokoff. — Travels of ſeveral learned men in the interior of Ruſſia. — Academical inſtitutions. — Inoculation of the empreſs and the grand duke; with other events from 1764 *to* 1768.

THE beneficial effects of Catharine's regulations and eſtabliſhments for the internal adminiſtration of government were every day becoming more apparent in all parts of Ruſſia. That vaſt empire, rendered more compact,

better regulated, more ſimply organiſed, animated with a new ſpirit, muſt naturally have a powerful influence on the commerce, on the finances, the politics, nay even on the exiſtence of the other nations of the earth: and it certainly had. The time was paſt when foreign cabinets, with a ſort of aſſurance of effect, could direct affairs, give birth to reſolutions, and put a ſtop to proceedings at Peterſburg; the government diſplayed that ſpirit of independence which became ſo great a monarchy: on the contrary, the queſtion was now, how Catharine was acting, and what ſhe was purpoſing in regard to all that the princes and republics, from the Memel to the Tagus, were meditating and tranſacting. A ſagacious hiſtorian, who is certainly no flatterer of deſpots, ſays of the late empreſs of Ruſſia, to which every one muſt readily ſubſcribe, "The volumes of modern "hiſtory can produce no reign like this: for no "monarch has ever yet ſucceeded in the attain- "ment of ſuch a dictature in the grand republic "of Europe, as Catharine II. now holds; and "none of all the kings who have heretofore "given cauſe to dread the erection of an uni- "verſal monarchy, ſeem to have had any "knowledge of her art; to preſent herſelf "with

" with the pride of a conqueror in the moſt " perilous ſituation, and with an unuſual, a " totally new dignity in the moſt common " tranſactions. And it is manifeſtly not alone " the ſupreme authority which here gives law, " but the judgment which knows when to " ſhew that authority, and when to employ " it *."

Theoretical politicians, indeed, and ſtatiſtical calculators, have pretended to affirm, that this complaiſance of the reſt of Europe has been ſhewn without reaſon; and that the aſſumption that the power of Ruſſia is ſo formidable is one of thoſe that are only admitted upon truſt. But the conſequence ſeems here demonſtrable, if any where in a caſe like this: whoever undertakes many things, and performs all that he undertakes, is probably ſtill able to undertake and to perform more. Whoever, juſt at the time when the politician has calculated that he is reduced to his laſt ſoldier and his laſt ruble, appears with a formidable army, and diſpoſes of millions with magnanimous prodigality, cannot be yet at the extremity of his forces or his wealth. And (what is completely deciſive) whoever, in the

* M. Spittler, in his " Sketch of the Hiſtory of the " Governments of Europe," part ii. p. 420.

grand european republic, at the time when a Frederic and a Joſeph, when the intriguing French and the enterpriſing Britons compoſe the ſenate of that republic, can hold the dictature, is ſurely born to be dictator, is endowed with all the qualities requiſite to that end: the power, the art, and the judgment. This will apply to Catharine. In her were united what the world has ſeldom ſeen together. From merely phyſical power many things may afford ſecurity; but the ſuperiority of mind, the refinement of policy, is capable of reaching lengths, of which the former will fall ſhort.—Whoever was favoured with her eſteem and friendſhip, never advanced farther to intimacy, but remained in a reſpectful, almoſt dependent ſituation. Whoever incurred her wrath, was ſo placed by her before all Europe, that the effects of it were no longer beheld as a hoſtile contention between two equal potentates, but as the chaſtiſement of a felon.—When ſhe iſſued her commands, it was in the ſweet accents of righteouſneſs and peace. However her paſſions were excited, ſhe yet remained tranquil, till the proper maturity enſured the event; and thus her actions acquired the diſtinctive marks of irreſiſtible majeſty. But never yet has a monarch underſtood, like her, how to be bountiful exactly at the fitteſt time, and to make preſents with

ſuch

ſuch ſignificance as to fix the gratitude of the receiver, and to acquire the veneration that is due to a beneficent deity*.

While Catharine was giving law to Poland, amuſing Auſtria, conciliating the friendſhip of Pruſſia, and treating with England, ſhe was alſo tampering with the other courts of Europe, and labouring efficaciouſly towards very ſoon making herſelf dreaded by them. She exerted herſelf to the utmoſt in giving new ſpirit to the commerce of her country, in augmenting her navy, and above all in ſoftening the manners of her people, as yet not far advanced in civilization. But, badly ſeconded by the great perſonages of the empire, and even by ſuch as were about her, the progreſs of her inſtitutions was at

* We will take the liberty of making here one other extract from Spittler's work, concerning the interference of Ruſſia in the affairs of Poland: — "It was an ingenious contrivance, "formed in a truly roman ſtyle, and completed accordingly. "Not only a numerous and free nation was to be deprived of "its liberty and national ſubſiſtence, but all Europe was to "be lulled aſleep. The annexations of Lewis XIV. were "a trifling buſineſs in compariſon of what Catharine II. per-"formed in Poland and againſt that country. But what "loud and violent cries were raiſed againſt the former; and "in what ſoft murmurs did the voice of truth repeat the "ancient law of nations, when there ſeemed to be no longer "any law between Ruſſia and Poland? &c." See Spittler's work on the governments of Europe, p. 423.

firſt but ſlow. The ſpirit of diviſion continued to reign in Peterſburg. The outrages that were to be prevented or puniſhed, always made it neceſſary for Catharine to keep well with the conſpirators to whom ſhe was indebted for the throne: but the favours ſhe was inceſſantly heaping on that greedy and inſolent crew, were ſo many additional ſources of hatred and diſcontent. Some new plot or conſpiracy was forming every day; and every day the good fortune of the empreſs, or rather her prudence, delivered her from danger. Puniſhments were ſecret and terrible. The authors of one plot could but rarely undertake a ſecond.

What moſt afflicted the empreſs was the miſunderſtanding that prevailed between her favourite and her chief miniſter, becauſe the devotedneſs and audacity of the one were not leſs uſeful to her than the name and abilities of the other. Panin had certainly conſiderable imperfections; but he was the only one who had a true notion of buſineſs. His cold imagination, his melancholy, his pride, his obſtinacy, and above all his indolence, were highly diſpleaſing to Catharine: but ſhe did ample juſtice to his talents, and continued to give him her confidence. Beſides, though the empreſs was not ſatisfied with him, he had the art of reviſing his opinions,

opinions, when he found them diſagreeable to her.

The influence of Orloff was founded on a different baſis: but he uſed it without diſcretion, and was continually leſſening its ſtability. No longer employing thoſe aſſiduities which were the only means in his power of ſecuring the favour he enjoyed, and even negligent of his uſual attendance at court, abſenting himſelf for ſeveral weeks together in purſuing the chace of the bear, and indifferent to the amuſements of the palace, if ever any warmth of attachment ſubſiſted, it muſt naturally now ſubſide, and decline into perfect indifference.

Panin, remarking this conduct, thought he might improve it to bring on the diſmiſſion of the arrogant favourite. Perceiving that the empreſs frequently beheld with complacency a young officer, named Viſſenſky, thenceforward he put in practice every thing he could deviſe to encourage the inclination. Viſſenſky was ſoon admitted into favour; and, directed by the artful miniſter, behaved in ſuch a manner as to give reaſon to believe that Orloff would ſoon be diſcarded. But the latter, who was not willing to loſe his conſequence, made a ſudden alteration in his conduct, and by that means preſerved

ſerved his ſtation. The new favourite was diſmiſſed with brilliant preſents, and an employment that fixed him in one of the remoter provinces.

Though Panin enjoyed great intereſt and a high reſpect, with the advantages accruing from his poſt of governor to the grand duke and his title of miniſter, the return of the chancellor Vorontzoff, whoſe functions he performed *ad interim*, gave him uneaſineſs. Jealous to preſerve his authority entire, and the ſplendor of a repreſentation which was of great value to him, he humbled himſelf ſo far as to flatter the favourite, whoſe downfall he had been endeavouring to procure. Orloff was not of an impracticable temper. Always recollecting with bitterneſs the ſteps which the chancellor had taken to prevent him from ſharing in the throne, he requeſted the empreſs to keep him away from the management of affairs; and he became the apologiſt for an enemy leſs bold, but more artful. Catharine accoſted the chancellor with extreme coldneſs. Inſtead of replacing him in the functions of miniſter, as at his departure ſhe had given him reaſon to hope, ſhe cauſed it to be ſuggeſted to him that it would not be taken amiſs if he were to reſign a place which he could

could no longer fill to the ſatisfaction of his ſovereign. The chancellor heſitated for ſome time: but at length the advice of his friends prevailed. He ſeemed voluntarily to reſign what was actually taken from him. His reſignation was accepted with expreſſions of regret, which were not more ſincere than his wiſhes for retirement; and, in order to convince him of the ſecret joy his compliance gave, he was preſented with a gratuity of 50,000 rubles and a penſion of 7000.

Among the numberleſs means employed by Catharine for detecting the authors of the plots that were perpetually diſturbing her repoſe, ſhe did not neglect the interception of the correſpondence of the foreign miniſters. That of the agent* of France was ſold to her. She even ſucceeded in procuring a duplicate of his cypher; and ſhe thought ſhe perceived in his letters, if not the adherence to the machinations of the conſpirators, at leaſt the knowledge of all the myſterious affairs that were carrying on among the people about her. Her pride was hurt at this diſcovery; her reſentment againſt the court of Verſailles increaſed; and the cold reception ſhe gave to the agent of that court

* Berenger, who had the title of chargé d'affaires.

reduced

reduced him to the neceſſity of making his retreat *.

Lewis XV. then ſent to Peterſburg the marquis de Beauſſet †, a man of great vanity and but ſmall capacity, to whom the miniſters of Catharine complained heavily of the chargé d'affaires his predeceſſor. But, as Beauſſet was unacquainted with the true cauſe of theſe complaints,

* That princeſs, ſurmiſing afterwards that Voltaire might have learnt ſome of the facts contained in the correſpondence of the agents of his nation, wrote to that celebrated genius in ſuch a manner as to diſſuade him from giving credit to them, if he were acquainted with the buſineſs, and to inform him of nothing if he were not. "All "your countrymen," ſhe writes to him, "do not entertain "the ſame ſentiments of me as you do. I know ſome who "wiſh to perſuade themſelves that it is impoſſible for me "to do any thing that is good; who put their invention to "the rack to perſuade others to think ſo likewiſe; and "woe to their emiſſaries if they dare to think otherwiſe "than as they are taught. I have candour enough to be-"lieve it an advantage which they give me over them, "becauſe whoever only knows facts from the mouth of his "flatterers, knows them but badly, ſees them in a falſe "light, and acts in conſequence. Since, however, my "fame does not depend on them, but entirely on my "principles, on my actions, I comfort myſelf, as well as I "can, in not obtaining their approbation. As a good "chriſtian, I forgive them; and I pity thoſe who envy "me."

† He was preſented to the empreſs the 1ſt of May.

he paid them but little attention, and took no precautions to prevent their being renewed againſt him. He even thought they were only to be aſcribed to the blind jealouſy which the glory of the french nation excited in the empreſs; ſo far from it, that her ambition was ſtriving to uſurp the eſteem and draw upon her the praiſes of that nation. She correſponded with Voltaire and d'Alembert. She made an offer to the latter of the place of governor to the grand duke, with a ſalary of 24,000 livres, and all conveniencies for finiſhing the Encyclopédie at Peterſburg; advantages which the philoſopher thought proper to refuſe *. Being informed that Diderot was not in good circumſtances, and was deſirous of ſelling his library to enable him to portion out his daughter; ſhe bought that library, left it in his own poſſeſſion, and ſettled on him a handſome appointment as the librarian of it. Some time previous to this, ſhe had ſent to Morand, the famous ſurgeon, a collection of gold and ſilver medals which had been ſtruck in Ruſſia, as a teſtimony of her ſatisfaction with the anatomical ſubjects and chirurgical inſtruments which he had procured for her. Almoſt

* See the Appendix at the end of the volume.

all

all the men of letters and the moſt diſtinguiſhed artiſts of Paris received ſome proofs of her munificence, and admiring her bounties, forgetting or unacquainted with her frailties,

They ſwelled with lies the hundred trumps of Fame.

In the mean time the ſecret deſign propoſed by that princeſs in crowning count Ciolek Poniatoſſky began to unfold. Thinking herſelf ſecure of the entire ſubmiſſion of that monarch, ſhe put off all conſtraint, and openly avowed the deſigns which even policy had made it a crime in the Poles to have imputed to her. Her pretenſions were, doubtleſs, extravagant: but, as ſhe was deſirous that they ſhould not be uſeleſs, ſhe only declared them when on the point of marching the troops that were deſtined to ſupport them, and propoſed nothing but in an imperious tone. After having traced out on the map the lines of demarcation, by which Ruſſia purloined a great part of the territory of Poland, Catharine inſiſted on the recognition of the validity of theſe lines, and that the limits of the two countries ſhould thus be fixed. She exacted, farther, that the king and the republic ſhould contract with her a treaty of alliance offenſive and defenſive, and that they ſhould allow the diſſidents to enjoy all the ſame rights with the

the catholics, not excepting that of a capacity for being members of the ſenate. The laſt of theſe demands, the only one that was equitable, raiſed the indignation of an intolerant and deſpotic nobility. Murmurs were now heard on all ſides: mention was made of having recourſe to arms. Whether he was really aſhamed of the ſacrifices that were preſcribed to his recognition, or rather afraid of putting the nation in a ferment, the king himſelf declared that he could not conſent to theſe ſacrifices. But in order to be the better able to form a judgment of the pretexts with which Catharine covered her ambition, it will be neceſſary to underſtand what the poliſh diſſidents were.

Poland was originally circumſcribed within very narrow bounds. The inhabitants, between the 9th and 10th centuries, adopted the chriſtian religion as it was then profeſſed by the church of Rome. About the ſame time many of the neighbouring provinces, which were then independent ſtates, at different periods embraced that worſhip according to the ritual of the Greeks. In proceſs of time, many of theſe neighbouring ſtates, either by conqueſt, by right of ſucceſſion, by marriage, or by compact, became united to the kingdom of Poland; upon all which acceſſions the new provinces were upon

an exact equality with the old in every reſpect, and each obſerved their own peculiar modes of worſhip.

Of all theſe acceſſions, that which fell to it by the marriage of Yagellon, grand duke of Lithuania, with the daughter and heireſs of Lewis king of Poland, in 1386, was the largeſt and moſt conſiderable. By this event the grand duchy of Lithuania, together with the provinces of White-Ruſſia, Podlakhia, Volhinia, Podolia, and ſhortly afterwards Red-Ruſſia, became annexed to the kingdom of Poland; with this diſtinction, that the union between the kingdom and the grand duchy depended only on the continuance of the line of the Yagellons, that family being the natural ſovereigns of Lithuania. The inhabitants of all theſe provinces were of the greek religion, as well as thoſe of Moldavia, Valakhia, and the Ukraine, which were added to the kingdom by the ſucceſſors of Yagellon: ſo that by theſe great acceſſions, the members of the greek church became at that time far ſuperior, both in numbers and power, to thoſe of the roman catholic perſuaſion. It was thought a happineſs peculiar to Poland, that, while other countries have at different times been a prey to inteſtine feuds and rancour on the ſcore of the religion of Chriſt, the great variety of opinions on

on that ſubject never produced any ſtriſe or animoſity among the people of this nation.

The reformation made very early progreſs in Poland, and the majority of the ſenators and nobility became members either of the lutheran or calviniſtic communions. To prevent therefore any miſchiefs that might ariſe from theſe differences of religion, Sigiſmund Auguſtus paſſed a law at the diet of Vilna, on the 16th of June 1563, declaring that all thoſe of the equeſtrian and noble orders, whether of lithuanian or ruſſian extraction, ſhould enjoy equal rights, provided they profeſs the chriſtian religion. This he afterwards confirmed at the diet of Grodno, in 1568, adding, to prevent all miſconſtructions in favour of any party, that it was to be underſtood of every ſuch perſon, of whatever chriſtian communion or confeſſion he be.

It would not be eaſy to produce inſtances of equal moderation, in matters of religion, amongſt a people who differed ſo widely in their opinions on that head, as theſe we have ſhewn; eſpecially if it be conſidered that theſe conſtitutions were paſſed by a fierce and warlike nobility, each of whom was not only a member of the general ſovereignty, which they had juſt taken into their own hands; but alſo looked upon himſelf, in his own particular right, as in ſome degree

a ſovereign, as far as his eſtate and power extended. We ſhall pay the greater regard to the memory of thoſe illuſtrious Poles, if we reflect that the age they lived in was far from being a temperate one, and that moderation was but little cultivated in the moſt civilized and beſt regulated governments in Europe: at the ſame time it cannot be ſufficiently lamented, that their poſterity ſhould ſo fatally loſe ſight of the politic, humane, and noble precedent, that was ſet them by their fathers.

Under favour of this toleration proteſtantiſm made rapid advances in Poland. By this wiſe act of Sigiſmund Auguſtus, all ſects, whether proteſtant, greek, or arian, enjoyed the full liberty of exerciſing their worſhip, and the right of voting in the diets, and of holding the ſame offices as the catholics. None were at the time offended by this act of juſtice: on the contrary, all were glad to ſee that the difference of religion produced none in the political and civil rights of the ſeveral members of the community. As a diſtinction among themſelves, the followers of the different modes of worſhip were called diſſidents: but that name, which has ſince been made a ſignal for proſcription, had nothing then injurious in it; and the ſucceſſors of Sigiſmund Auguſtus, when they ſwore to obſerve the

pacta

pacta conventa, ſwore alſo to preſerve peace among the diſſidents *. When Henry de Valois † was elected king of Poland, he wanted to diſpenſe himſelf from an oath that wounded his intolerant ſuperſtition: but his attempts were in vain. He muſt relinquiſh the crown

* It appears, from the very beginning of the republic, that the term *diſſidents* equally comprehended the greeks, catholics, reformed and lutherans. The words of that famous conſtitution which was paſſed by the diet, which formed the republic in the year 1573, are, *Nos qui ſumus diſſidentes in religione*, i. e. We who differ in religious matters. In the ſame conſtitution it is declared, that they will acknowledge no man for king or ſovereign, "who ſhall not "confirm by oath all the rights, privileges, and liberties, "which they now enjoy, and which are to be laid before "him after the election. Particularly, he ſhall be bound "to ſwear, that he will maintain the peace among the diſſi-"dents in points of religion." In the conſtitutions of the ſame diet are the following remarkable ſtipulations: "We "will engage in our own names, and in the names of our "ſucceſſors for ever, by the obligations of our oath, of our "faith, of our honour, and of our conſciences, to preſerve "peace among us who are diſſidents in religion; to ſhed "no blood, nor to inflict on any one the penalties of con-"fiſcation of goods, defamation, impriſonment or exile, on "account of the difference of our faith, and rites in our "churches. More than that, if any one ſhould undertake, "for the above reaſon, to ſhed the blood of his fellow-"citizens, we ſhould be all obliged to oppoſe him, even "though he ſhould ſhelter himſelf under the pretext of a "decree, or any other judicial act."

† The bigoted and vicious Henry III. of France.

or ſwear to protect the diſſidents: he took the oath.

Thoſe who have not conſidered that perverſe diſpoſition, by which almoſt every denomination of mankind would endeavour to plunder, enſlave, and perſecute every other part of their own ſpecies; and who have not obſerved that words can always be found, when attended with power, to explain away the moſt explicit ſenſe, and the moſt indubitable rights; may well be ſurpriſed how a law, ſo ſolemnly paſſed, and ſo uſeful to the whole community, could be rendered fruitleſs. A law ſanctified by the moſt ſolemn acts, which the framers bound themſelves and their poſterity, by the moſt ſacred oaths, to preſerve inviolate to all futurity, which formed a principal part of the conſtitution of the ſtate, and which every king at his acceſſion was ſworn to obſerve. Yet this law, without any material change, much leſs a ſubverſion of the conſtitution of the country, has been manifeſtly broken through, while three of the religions, which formed the original compact, have been ſpoiled of their rights, liberties, and immunities, by the fourth; and all this outrage and wrong committed under colour and ſanction of the very laws they were tearing to pieces at the inſtant.

However,

However, when the roman catholics, after the death of Sigiſmund III, had gained an evident ſuperiority, they gave full ſcope to that fiery zeal by which they are made to believe that their religion is the only one that is good, and will not permit them to endure any other. They began by perſecuting the arians, whoſe opinions had already made great progreſs; they proceeded to diveſt them of all their rights, and even to drive them out of Poland. The greek and proteſtant chriſtians, who had aſſiſted in perſecuting the arians, were very ſoon puniſhed for their imprudence. The catholics attacked them in their turn, and ſucceeded in 1733, in entirely excluding them from the diets*.

The

* Upon the death of Sigiſmund Auguſtus, in 1574, the poliſh conſtitution was entirely changed, and the nation aſſumed the form of a republic. His grandfather Caſimir III. was the firſt who convened the nobility, in order to oblige them to accept the new impoſitions. Sigiſmund and his father uſed the ſame method; but after his death the whole legiſlative authority fell into the hands of the nobility. At this period, we are told by their hiſtorians, the roman catholics in the kingdom did not bear a proportion in number to the Greeks and reformed, of more than one to ſeven. The grand marſhal Firley, who convened the firſt diet of the republic, that diet which formed its preſent model, and made the crown elective, was a proteſtant. A perpetual peace betwixt the Greeks, the roman catholics, and the proteſtants, was therein eſtabliſhed as a fundamental

The humiliation they felt on being deprived of the right of ſuffrage, converted many of the Poles to catholiciſm. But if the diſſidents diminiſhed in numbers, thoſe who remained were only ſo much the more attached to their ſects. Againſt theſe proceedings they urged the treaty of Oliva, concluded in 1660, by which their privileges were ſecured, and of which ſo many potentates were the guarantees. The catholics, who ruled alone in the diets, and conſequently

law of the republic. The wars in Germany under Charles V. and in France under Catharine de Medicis, made them ſenſible of the neceſſity they were under of tolerating each other. They therefore entered into an engagement of mutual defence and affection, and that a difference of religion ſhould never prove the cauſe of civil diſſenſion, unanimouſly reſolving to make an example of that perſon who, under ſuch a pretext, ſhould excite diſturbance. As this law has been repeated in all the public acts, conſtitutions, and pacta conventa, from that time to the preſent, it cannot but be allowed to be a fundamental law: nor can any other law be produced, whoſe ſanction has been more ſolemnly, more conſtantly, and more frequently repeated. However, when the roman catholics, after the death of Sigiſmund III. had acquired a manifeſt ſuperiority, though they did not think proper openly to controvert it, yet they ſhewed a diſpoſition, when opportunity was favourable, to infringe it, by placing under their ſignatures, *ſalvis juribus eccleſiæ romanæ catholicæ*, with a ſaving to the rights of the roman catholic church. Whereupon the diſſidents, by way of repriſal, wrote under their ſignatures, *ſalva pace inter diſſidentes*, with a ſaving to the peace amongſt the diſſidents.

might

might give ample range to their intolerance, without moleſtation or obſtacle, procured a decree attaching the guilt of high treaſon to ſuch diſſidents as ſhould have recourſe to foreign powers for obtaining the execution of the treaty thus atrociouſly infringed, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the laws ſo deſpotically repealed. This decree was the finiſhing ſtroke to the patience of the diſſidents. Ruſſia obſerved their indignation, and fanned it in ſecret. The greek diſſidents then addreſſed themſelves to the court of Peterſburg. The proteſtants implored the interceſſion of thoſe of London, Copenhagen, and Berlin. Theſe courts promiſed to ſupport them; and this was the moſt ſpecious pretext for the military interference of Ruſſia. This was the ſtate of affairs at the cloſe of the year 1765.

On the aſſembling of the diet on the 1ſt of September 1766, the miniſters of the protecting courts preſented their memorials in behalf of the diſſidents, which excited a violent murmur. Soltyk, biſhop of Cracow, a haughty and fanatical prelate, maintained that the diſſidents had no right of appeal to privileges that were aboliſhed, and that they had violated the conſtitution of the republic, in having recourſe to the intervention of foreign powers. Not ſatisfied with the iniquitous laws

laws that had been paſſed againſt the diſſidents, he moved for the enacting of new ones ſtill more ſevere. His opinion was adopted by Maſſalſky, biſhop of Milna, and a great majority of the nobles, who blindly confounded religious prejudices with political rights; and the oppoſition of ſome perſons more enlightened or more equitable, occaſioned violent debates. The diſorder roſe to its height. The king attempted to deliver himſelf in favour of more moderate ſentiments: he was abruptly reproached with being an abettor of the enemies of the ſtate. He took the reſolution to retire *. Several other ſittings followed, not leſs ſcandalous than the former; and the terrible laws enacted againſt the diſſidents were imprudently confirmed. The ruſſian troops now advanced to the gates of Warſaw. Prince Repnin demanded in the name of the empreſs, not only a toleration ſecured by law in behalf of the diſſidents, but a

* The biſhop of Kief had already taken the liberty to ſay in an aſſembly, "that if they would take his advice, they "would have the king hanged; as there were ſtill ſurely ſome "men to be found among the Poles charitable enough to "do the ſtate that ſervice." The ſame prelate afterwards proceeded from inſolence to fury, ſo far as to tell the king to his face, in preſence of all the court:—"I formerly uſed "to pray to God for your proſperity; my prayer to him "at preſent is, that he would ſend you to the devil."

complete

complete political equality with the catholic party. This was rejected with a furious triumph. Nothing was now left for the diſſidents, but, what the conſtitution allowed, to confederate: this courſe they immediately adopted under the ruſſian protection. Fear ſeemed for a moment to open the eyes of the diet. It thought to ſatisfy the empreſs by granting the diſſidents ſomewhat more liberty in the exerciſe of their religion. But this palliative was not ſufficient for Catharine. The diſſidents, continuing to inſiſt on an entire equality of rights, formed into divers confederations, which were preſently joined by numbers of catholics, won over by Ruſſia.

This was a lamentable time for Poland; parties and counter-parties, uniting and ſplitting again into others in the moſt unexampled manner. From grievances in religion political feuds aroſe; ſeveral of the diſcontented went over to the diſſidents, without otherwiſe agreeing with them in opinion. A civil war raged now with all its horrors, and ruſſian troops were every day entering the territories of the republic in greater numbers. A general confederation ſprung up, compoſed of the moſt heterogeneous parts, united neither by a common underſtanding nor by the cement of affection; prince Charles Radzivil, who had been abſent from the country,

was their marſhal. This prince had been one of the foremoſt of the opponents to the election of Poniatoſſky; for which he had been obliged to quit the country, and ſuffer the confiſcation of his property. He even affected more contempt than hatred towards him. He no ſooner ſaw him abandoned by the Ruſſians, than he united his confederation with thoſe of the diſſidents, and convened the principal leaders of them in his palace in Warſaw, under the very eyes of the monarch.

1767. In this extremity Staniſlaus Auguſtus, who felt the neceſſity of regaining the protection of Ruſſia, aſſembled a diet extraordinary. This diet, however, but ill correſponded with his views. Notwithſtanding the preſence of the ruſſian army, and the haughty behaviour of prince Repnin, who lorded it in Warſaw far more than the king himſelf, the biſhop of Cracow and his adherents, as raſh and fanatical as ever, had the preſumption to make ſpeeches againſt the diſſidents, which common prudence, if not ſound reaſon, ſhould have adviſed them againſt. It was not long before they ſuffered for their folly. The ruſſian troops, who had for ſome months nearly ſurrounded as well as interſected the kingdom of Poland, had now cloſely inveſted the

the city of Warſaw, and were in poſſeſſion, and kept ſtrict guard upon all the avenues leading to it. That very evening *, while the biſhop was at table at count Miniſheck's, the ruſſian colonel Igelſtrom, followed by a detachment of ſoldiers, entered the room, in the name of the empreſs, and ſeized on the prelate without meeting the ſmalleſt reſiſtance from any that were preſent. Prince Repnin dictated to the diet the act of confirmation of the rights of the diſſidents; and, to the utter aſtoniſhment of the Poles, who always boaſted of their freedom, cauſed the furious oppoſers of that act in the diet, the biſhop of Kief, the voivode of Cracow, count Rjeurſky, voivode of Dolin, his eldeſt ſon †, and ſome other nobles, to be ſeparately arreſted in Warſaw, and, together with the biſhip of Cracow, carried off to Siberia.

The day following this outrage, prince Repnin addreſſed to the confederates a note, in which he pretended that he had only violated the liberty of the Poles for the benefit of Poland ‡.

The

* The 13th of October.

† The ſecond ſon of count Rjeurſky requeſted permiſſion to accompany his father in bondage. He was anſwered, that they had no orders to arreſt him.

‡ The declaration of prince Repnin delivered to the confederated eſtates was as follows: "The troops of her imperial majeſty, my ſovereign, friends and allies of the confederated

The members of the diet ſent up an addreſs to the king, requeſting him to demand the priſoners. The king immediately prayed prince Repnin to releaſe them: but Repnin rejected it with diſdain; and they did not return from the deſerts of Siberia till after an exile of ſix years *.

" derated republic, have arreſted the biſhop of Cracow, the " biſhop of Kief, the voivode of Dolin, &c. for having " failed, by their conduct, in the reſpect that is due " to the dignity of her imperial majeſty, by attacking " the purity of her ſalutary, diſintereſted, and amicable " intentions in favour of the republic. The illuſtrious ge- " neral confederation of the republic, of the crown, and of " Lithuania, being under the protection of her imperial " majeſty, the underſigned notifies this to it, with poſitive " and ſolemn aſſurances of the continuation of that high " protection and of the aſſiſtance and ſupport of her impe- " rial majeſty to the general confederation united for the " preſervation of the poliſh laws and liberties, with redreſs " of all the abuſes that have crept into the government " contrary to the fundamental laws of the country. Her " majeſty is only deſirous of the welfare of the republic, and " will not diſcontinue to grant it her aſſiſtance to the attain- " ment of that end, without any intereſt or pecuniary " conſideration; wiſhing for no other than the ſafety, the " happineſs, and the liberty of the poliſh nation, as that has " been already clearly expreſſed in the declarations of her " imperial majeſty, which guarantee to the republic its " actual poſſeſſions, as well as its laws, its form of govern- " ment, and the prerogatives of each individual. Done at " Warſaw, the 14th of October 1767.

(Signed) " NICHOLAS Prince REPNIN."

* In the beginning of the year 1773.

In

In the mean time the deliberations of the diet were carried on under the impulſes of fear; and after ſeveral uſeleſs ſittings, a committee was nominated for ſettling the rights of the diſſidents, in concert with the miniſters of the patroniſing courts. They regularly applied for orders to prince Repnin, whoſe anti-chamber was the reſort of the plenipotentiaries from Pruſſia, England, Denmark, and Sweden; and when the committee had received theſe orders, it made a report of them to the diet, who were careful not to contradict them. The diſſidents therefore obtained whatever the ruſſian ambaſſador was pleaſed to demand in their behalf. The ancient laws to which they appealed were once more put in force; and others were enacted which were ſtill more favourable to them. It was, however, no more than an act of juſtice, which had nothing againſt it but the manner in which it was performed. They had been arbitrarily aboliſhed: it was therefore but right to reſtore them. The ſole cauſe of affliction to the true friends of the liberty of Poland was a heap of regulations admitted by the orders of Catharine, tending to prolong the troubles and anarchy of that unhappy country, and to leave it for ever without defence againſt the uſurpations which ſhe had in contemplation.

A ſer-

A ſervile obedience had ſuddenly ſucceeded in Warſaw to the exceſſes of a proud independence. But this forced ſituation could not long continue. Murmurs were on all lips, and vengeance was in every heart. No ſooner had the diet broke up, but the catholic nobles were clamorous in their complaints on account of the laws promulgated in favour of the diſſidents, and formed new confederations for the defence of the romiſh religion. The confederates had ſtandards, on which were painted the virgin Mary and the infant Jeſus: they, like the cruſaders of the fifteenth century, wore croſſes embroidered on their clothes; and, what was more ridiculous ſtill, they put themſelves under the protection of the Turks; and the diſciples of Mohammed were preparing to fight in the cauſe that bore the name of Chriſt.

Staniſlaus Auguſtus, unable either to inſpire confidence into his ſubjects, or to recover the friendſhip of the Ruſſians, was the ſubject of accuſation to all parties, and lived in his capital more like a priſoner than a king. Catharine might perhaps have pardoned him ſome moments of defection, but the influence of Orloff oppoſed it. Prince Repnin commanded like a deſpot in Warſaw; and, to flatter the favourite of his ſovereign, he let no opportunity eſcape of humi-

humiliating a feeble and unfortunate king. We ſhall juſt cite one ſingle fact, to prove what little reſpect the ruſſian ambaſſador had for the poliſh monarch. One evening that the king was at the theatre, the ambaſſador made it late before he came. As he did not appear, the curtain drew up, and the piece began. The performers were in the ſecond act, when a ſort of buſtle being made in the ambaſſador's box, the king ſent a page to know what was the matter. Anſwer was brought that prince Repnin was come, and was ſurpriſed to find that they had not waited for his arrival before the curtain was drawn up. The king ordered the curtain to be dropped, and the piece to begin again.

All Europe beheld with aſtoniſhment the conduct of the court of Ruſſia. It was thought ſcarcely conceivable that Catharine ſhould become, all at once, the enemy of a king whom ſhe herſelf had put upon the throne. But what could the faint remembrance of an extinguiſhed attachment avail in the heart of a princeſs, who was aiming, by impoſing ſhackles on Poland, to domineer over the powers of the north, and to make herſelf formidable to thoſe of the ſouth?

She was ſure that the king of Pruſſia deſired nothing better than to ſhare the poliſh provinces

with her. She managed at her pleaſure both Sweden and Denmark, the one by her intrigues, and the other by the hope ſhe held out to it of the ceſſion of Holſtein. She flattered England by a treaty of alliance and commerce. All ſeemed to concur to favour her ambition.

The duke de Choiſeul, who, under the appearance of levity, concealed a deep and penetrating genius, and who perhaps was deficient in nothing, for being a great miniſter, but more conſtancy in his deſigns, and leſs propenſity to diſſipate the treaſures of France, was the firſt who diſcovered the ſecret views of Catharine. He ſaw that the augmentation of power which ſhe was about to acquire muſt have a natural tendency to diminiſh the conſideration and influence of the court of Verſailles. He reſolved to attack the evil in its ſource, and, in order to defeat the projects of Ruſſia by diſſipating its means, he fell upon the deſign of involving it in a war with the ottoman porte.

That miniſter then made application to count de Vergennes, ambaſſador from France to Conſtantinople; and, after having ſtated to him the particulars of his apprehenſions, exhorted him to ſecond his projects. The duke de Choiſeul was not ignorant either of the weakneſs and decline of the ottoman empire, nor of the vices of a govern-

a government which were the ſole cauſe of that weakneſs: but he ſtill thought it capable of giving Ruſſia employment for a good while to come; and whatever might be the ſucceſs of the war, he wiſhed them to undertake it.

Vergennes adminiſtered with no leſs ability than zeal to the views of his court. A long reſidence in Turkey had ſupplied him with an intimate knowledge of the principal members of the divan, and the means of ſucceeding with it. He employed thoſe means. He repreſented to the ottoman miniſters how unjuſt and dangerous it was that Ruſſia ſhould dare to violate the rights of the Poles, and invade their territory. He convinced them that the demarcation of the limits exacted by the court of Peterſburg would be attended with conſequences fatal to the ſecurity of the Euxine; and he adviſed them reſolutely to oppoſe that demarcation*.

The porte, whom the poliſh confederates had already petitioned for ſuccour, immediately

* The duke de Choiſeul had authoriſed M. de Vergennes to employ the moſt efficacious meaſures for inducing the Turks to declare war againſt Ruſſia. "If you have any "expectation of ſucceſs, if you think it poſſible," he writes to him, "every neceſſary ſupply of money ſhall be "tranſmitted to you." M. de Vergennes had the merit of wiſhing to employ no other means than thoſe of perſuaſion. They were ſufficient with him.

complied with the advice of Vergennes. The turkiſh miniſter ſent a note to the king of Poland, requeſting that the regulation of the limits might be ſuſpended till ſome explanations ſhould be given the ſultan of a nature to remove his alarms concerning the danger with which the ceſſion of the poliſh territory threatened the ottoman empire. But Staniſlaus Auguſtus, who was for ever afraid of giving umbrage to Catharine, and who was deſirous, whatever it might coſt him, of regaining her friendſhip, anſwered the grand ſignor, that there was not the leaſt propoſal of altering the limits between Ruſſia and Poland; and having received this aſſurance, the divan returned for ſome time into its accuſtomed apathy. Notwithſtanding which, however, the great empires of Ruſſia and Turkey, the moſt powerful in Aſia as well as in Europe, were ſoon to be engaged in a bloody conflict. Religion had entered into the quarrel, and added to its bitterneſs. The miſerable country of Poland was the theatre of a contention, not more deſtructive in its conſequences, than ſingular in its cauſes and pretexts. The deſpotic power of Ruſſia becomes the guardian of poliſh freedom; and the catholic religion flies for protection to the ſtandard of Mohammed.

The

The court of Peterſburg then* concluded a treaty of alliance and commerce with that of London; a treaty which extended the privileges of the Engliſh, lowered the duties of importation on their merchandize, and granted them great advantages. Her natural goodwill towards England, as well as her deſire of ſecuring additional ſuccours in the war which ſhe was meditating againſt the Turks, determined Catharine to ſeek the alliance of the court of London.

Juſt at this time, when Catharine was diſplaying her partiality in the moſt ſignal manner to the britiſh nation, an affair of gallantry between the miniſter of the latter and one of the maids of honour became ſo public, that the empreſs could no longer pretend to be ignorant of it; ſhe therefore diſmiſſed the guilty lady from her poſt, and forbad, for ſome time, the miniſter to appear at court.

The ſeverity ſhewn on this occaſion by Catharine formed doubtleſs a ſtriking contraſt with ſome parts of her own behaviour. It ſeems impoſſible that ſhe could ſo ſtrangely deceive herſelf as to imagine that the world was not aware of the indulgencies ſhe permitted herſelf; but it is nevertheleſs certain, that ſhe ſometimes

* In the month of December.

put on, in the preſence of thoſe who knew her beſt, as great an appearance of auſterity of manners as of attachment to religion. Two ladies* of her court, one of whom had formerly been her confidante, being at a maſquerade, were talking pretty loud concerning one of their admirers: the empreſs went up to them, and, with a ſtern countenance ordered them to leave the ball-room, ſince they knew no better than to pay ſo little regard to decorum.

The diſtance Catharine often found it neceſſary to aſſume could neither be ſuppoſed to gain her the affection of her courtiers, nor to contribute to reſtore tranquillity to the empire. Princeſs Daſhkoff had been, for the ſecond time, baniſhed to Moſco. That young lady, who ſeemed to find her greateſt pleaſure in braving dangers, revenged herſelf for the ingratitude ſhe thought ſhe experienced, by revealing the crimes of the conſpiracy in which ſhe had acted a principal part, and in fomenting the diſcontents againſt the empreſs. Without eſteeming princeſs Daſhkoff, many perſons partook in her reſentments; and the poiſon of ſedition, artfully mingled by her, was making new progreſs from day to day.

* Madame Nariſhkin and Madame Goloffkin.

Being

Being informed of the murmurs at Moſco, Catharine feigned to deſpiſe them, and reſolved to ſuppreſs them by her preſence. But as the ſeverity of the winter would ſcarcely permit her to take a long journey, ſhe endeavoured, in the mean time, to divert the diſaffected by the tumult of the pleaſures ſhe contrived for the court. The inhabitants at St. Peterſburg now ſaw two or three tournaments, at which the ruſſian courtiers, arrayed in the habits and the armour of the ancient knights in the days of chivalry, diſplayed more magnificence than gallantry, and greater ſtrength than dexterity. Theſe ſhows, which were continued for ſeveral days, were beheld with general diſapprobation, as frivolous and expenſive.

In the amphitheatre erected on purpoſe for the occaſion were two ſuperb boxes, for the empreſs and the grand duke. In the centre of the arena was raiſed a throne, whereon ſat the grand judge of the exerciſes, ſurrounded by forty officers, four heralds at arms, and two trumpets for the purpoſe of giving ſignals. Beſides theſe, at four ſeveral places, all equally diſtant from the circus, were kettle-drums and trumpets, making warlike muſic during the whole time of the carouzel. In ſhort, nothing was neglected that could con-

tribute to the magnificence and effect of the exhibition.

The dames and knights of the tournaments were divided into four quadrilles or troops of horſe, repreſenting combatants of four different nations: Sclavonians, Turks, Indians, and Romans; all perfectly obſerving the cuſtoms of thoſe nations, in their dreſs and ornaments, in their chariots, in their muſic, and attendants; and were all, ladies and knights, adorned with ſuch a profuſion of gold and ſilver, pearls, and precious ſtones, on their gorgeous dreſſes of velvet, ſilks, feathers, and ermine, that they might truly be ſaid* to

"Shine with the wealth of Ormus and of Ind,
"Or what the gorgeous eaſt, with richeſt hand,
"Showers on her kings, barbaric pearl and gold."

But that of the Romans, led on by count Gregory Orloff, was brilliant beyond deſcription. The dreſs of his brother count Alexèy Orloff, chief of the turkiſh cohort, was likewiſe particularly ſplendid.

The four quadrilles rode in great pomp through the principal ſtreets of the city, previous to their aſſembling in the circus.

* With a ſlight alteration from Milton.

The

The ladies of the court jouſted at theſe tournaments, as well as the chevaliers. Tilting at the ring, cutting off the heads of ferocious animals and Saracens, artificially repreſented, then toſſing up the head and catching it on the point of the ſabre, letting off a piſtol at a ſhield, with a variety of atchievements of a ſimilar nature, all performed at full gallop, and exactly in time with the muſic, formed the other parts of this magnificent entertainment.

When the carouzel, which had been repeated with conſiderable variations for ſeveral days, was ended, and the company were drawn up in their reſpective troops, the famous marſhal count Munich, who had been appointed grand judge of the field, previous to decreeing the prizes, delivered the following ſpeech, which ſhews that the veteran ſoldier was not unacquainted with the art of flattery.

" Illuſtrious ladies and chevaliers,

" None of you is ignorant that not a ſingle " day paſſes, not a ſingle moment, in which we " do not behold the attention of our moſt " gracious ſovereign, towards augmenting the " ſplendour of her empire, towards enlarging the " ſphere of the happineſs of her ſubjects in " general, and towards adding in particular to " the luſtre of her nobility.

" That

"That incomparable ſovereign has made "choice of this grand day, for giving the prime "nobility of her empire an opportunity for "ſignalizing their addreſs and agility in the "martial exerciſes of a brilliant carouzel, and "ſuch as has never yet been ſeen in Ruſſia. "Who does not ſhare with me the ſentiments "of admiration and gratitude ſo juſtly due to "her majeſty for this act of goodneſs and ma-"ternal care?

"Illuſtrious ladies and chevaliers, you have "acquitted yourſelves, in theſe noble exerciſes, "in a manner worthy of your birth, and adapted "to give you the aſſurance of having merited "the gracious regard of her majeſty, the favour "of monſeigneur the grand duke, and univerſal "applauſe."

Then, turning towards counteſs Boutturlin *, who had gained the principal prize, and which was valued at 5000 rubles, he ſaid,

"It is to you, madam, to whom her imperial "majeſty authoriſes me to preſent the principal "prize, the acquiſition of an uncommon dexte-"rity and grace which have won the ſuffrages "of all beholders. Permit me, madam, to be

* Counteſs Boutturlin was ſiſter to princeſs Daſhkoff and counteſs Elizabeth Romanovna Vorontzoff, the favourite of Peter III.

"the

" the firſt to congratulate you on that honourable
" diſtinction, which confers on you the right of
" diſtributing with your victorious hands, the
" reſt of the prizes to the ladies and the
" chevaliers.

" As for me, become hoary under arms during
" a ſpace of ſixty-five years of ſervice*; I, the
" oldeſt in rank as well as in years of any of the
" generals in Europe; after having had the glory
" of leading the ruſſian armies more than once
" to victory; I regard, as the recompence and
" the crown of all my toils, the honour to have
" been this day, not only the witneſs, but the
" firſt umpire of your reſplendent exploits."

After this the company, to the amount of ſome hundred perſons, ſat down to a ſplendid ſupper, the deſſert at the concluſion of which admirably repreſented the circus wherein the carouzel had been performed. The imperial ſummer-gardens were illuminated throughout, the walks lighted with numerous arches of lamps burning with naptha, temples of one general radiance, illuminated fountains, and magnificent fireworks; the whole feſtival terminating with a maſquerade in theſe gardens, which continued till day-light the following morning.

* He was at that time 84 years of age.

But

But Catharine knew alſo how beſt to employ more worthy means for eſtabliſhing her authority. She ſtill buſied herſelf in making reforms and in the erection of uſeful inſtitutions. She corrected the tribunals, ſhe founded ſchools, ſhe built hoſpitals, and planted colonies. She endeavoured to infuſe into her people a love for the laws, and to ſoften their manners by inſtruction. Jealous of a power that knew no bounds, greedy of every ſpecies of glory, ſhe was determined to be at once both conqueror and legiſlatrix. Amidſt conſpiracies formed for overturning her throne, occupied with preparations for war, which ſeemed ſufficient to arreſt her whole attention, and yet finding time for attachments of gallantry, ſhe was unmindful of nothing that could attract the reverence of mankind, and captivate their admiration.

There was at that time no country where the juriſprudence was more perplexed and uncertain than in Ruſſia. The intricate code of Alexèy Michailovitch, compiled that it might ſerve as the baſis of legiſlation, was, if not abrogated, at leaſt contradicted by the numerous edicts of his ſucceſſors, which were always dictated by the intereſt or the caprice of the moment. The laws of this vaſt empire were voluminous to a degree of the greateſt abſurdity, were perplexed,

inſufficient, in many caſes contradictory, and ſo loaded with precedents, reports, caſes, and opinions, that they afforded an eternal ſcene of altercation, and were ſcarcely to be reconciled or underſtood by the very profeſſors of them. This augean ſtable the empreſs was determined to cleanſe; and though the ſucceſs of her patriotic attempt has not as yet been complete, yet, in conſequence of it, a great ſimplification has taken place in the laws, and a milder and more impartial adminiſtration of juſtice. The particular laws of the different provinces were alſo continually interfering and claſhing, and cauſed ſuch confuſion, that the whole preſented an endleſs chaos, and effaced almoſt every trace of original ſyſtem or deſign. The ſenate, the colleges, all the tribunals of the empire, embarraſſed by ſo many authorities and ſuch oppoſite laws, protracted cauſes without end, or terminated them without juſtice. To theſe evils a greater yet was added, the venality of the judges, and their unlimited power *.

Catharine reſolved to apply a remedy to all theſe diſorders. She proſecuted what ſhe

* The loweſt judge, who frequently had never learnt to read, uſed arbitrarily to put culprits to the torture to extort confeſſion, and condemn a man to the knoot, or to be baniſhed into Siberia.

had

had begun in the ſenate and in the colleges, by forming them into ſeparate departments, which, having each but one line of buſineſs, could neceſſarily proceed in a more regular courſe, execute their buſineſs with much greater diſpatch, and give fewer openings to artifice and chicane. In order then to deprive the judges of all pretext or excuſe for either negligence or prevarication, ſhe augmented the emoluments of their offices, a means unhappily inſufficient, but which proves that Catharine was well acquainted with the ſpirit of the nation which ſhe governed. Indeed, if the magiſtrates had been poſſeſſed of any virtue, would it not be rather from the ſentiment of reputation, than by pecuniary recompences, that they would have been ſtimulated to juſtice? The empreſs therefore put in motion that ſpring which ſhe thought would act with the greateſt force upon them. She tells them, in the ukaſe ſhe publiſhed on the occaſion: — "Indigence may perhaps "hitherto have given you a propenſity to ſelf-"intereſt; but now the country itſelf rewards "your labours; and therefore what might here-"tofore have been pardonable, will hence-"forward be criminal." —

Catharine did more than augment the ſalaries of the judges; ſhe ſecured to them an appointment of half-pay for that ſeaſon of life when

when age and infirmities ſhould oblige them to retire.

Theſe primary matters being arranged, the empreſs ſet herſelf to work on a new code.

All the provinces of Ruſſia, not excepting the barbarous nations who dwell in the remoteſt parts of that vaſt empire, had orders to ſend deputies to Moſco, to preſent their ideas on the laws that were the fitteſt for their peculiar exigencies. Catharine herſelf repaired to that antient capital. The opening of the ſtates was held with extraordinary pomp. It was ſurely an intereſting and novel tranſaction, to ſee deputies of numerous people, different in their manners, their dreſs, their languages; and they themſelves muſt have been aſtoniſhed at being here thus aſſembled for the purpoſe of diſcuſſing their laws, people who had never thought about law any farther than to obey the arbitrary will of a maſter, whom it often happened that they did not know.

The empreſs, deſirous to leave to this aſſembly the appearances of the compleateſt liberty, had a ſort of gallery conſtructed in the hall in ſuch manner, that, without being perceived, ſhe could ſee and hear all that paſſed. The buſineſs was begun by reading the inſtructions tranſlated into the ruſſian language, the original whereof in french, almoſt entirely in the hand-writing of Catharine,

Catharine, has ſince been depoſited, encloſed in a magnificent caſe of ſilver-gilt, in an apartment of the imperial academy of ſciences at St. Peterſburg.

"The ſovereigns of Ruſſia poſſeſſed the moſt "extenſive dominions in the world, and every "thing was yet to be done: at laſt," ſays M. de Voltaire *, "Peter was born and Ruſſia was "formed;" that is, doubtleſs, to ſay, that at this period it aroſe out of chaos. The bare idea of forming it was grand, and its execution might juſtly excite aſtoniſhment. Tzar Alexèy Michailovitch, his father, had already ſketched out the work, and it muſt be confeſſed that Peter advanced it to a ſurpriſing degree. To leave his country, that he might return to govern it with greater glory; to go and ſeek light in all parts where it enlightened mankind; to ſubmit for ſeveral years to be the diſciple of other nations, in order to become the maſter and the reformer of his own; to work as a ſimple carpenter at Saardam, to prepare himſelf for creating a navy that ſhould be formidable to his enemies; to lower himſelf to a common ſoldier, in order to become a great commander; to form on all hands eſtabliſhments of great utility, till then

* Hiſtory of the ruſſian empire, vol. i. p. 74.

unknown

unknown to his ſubjects; to attack at once all the abuſes both in church and ſtate, in the manners and cuſtoms that had been moſt ſanctioned by inveterate habit; to extend reformation, and care to every particular that was deſerving of them; to temper the ſeverity of his diſcipline by the total abolition of the word ſlave: to mix pomp with toil, and annex proſperity to triumphs; all together characteriſed him as the great genius, the great man, and the great monarch.

But if that prince, ſo juſtly renowned to all poſterity, poliſhed his country in ſo many reſpects; if he made regulations worthy of admiration and praiſe, with all this he framed no permanent laws, and much leſs a ſyſtem of legiſlation that ſhould embrace all objects. That great work * was left for Catharine II. She alone conceived the grand idea of undertaking it, and ſhe alone had the courage to put it in execution. A code of laws, and eſpecially laws founded on wiſdom, is the nobleſt preſent that can be made to a people: no woman had yet been

* This work may be chiefly taken from the writings of Monteſquieu, and ſeveral others of the french philoſophers; but it muſt always redound to the glory of Catharine that ſhe had the liberality of mind to draw from ſuch ſources.

a legiſlatrix; and that part the empreſs of Ruſſia reſoved to act.

The reading of the inſtructions was frequently interrupted by burſts of applauſe. All preſent extolled the ſagacity, the wiſdom, the humanity of the ſovereign. But fear and flattery had a greater ſhare in theſe exclamations than an admiration proceeding from a juſt knowledge of the matter. It was hoped, perhaps, by that means to attract the favour of the empreſs, or at leaſt to eſcape Siberia. The deputies of the Samoyedes alone had the courage to ſpeak freely. One of them ſtood up in the name of his brethren, and ſaid: — "We are a ſimple and honeſt people. "We quietly tend our rein-deer. We are in "no want of a new code: but make laws for the "Ruſſians, our neighbours, that may put a ſtop "to their depredations."

The following ſittings did not paſs ſo quietly. Much had been ſaid about giving liberty to the boors. Some thouſands of this oppreſſed claſs of beings were preparing to ſupport by force what they expected from equity. The nobility dreaded an inſurrection; they dreaded, above all, a defalcation of their revenues; and ſome nobles were raſh enough to aſſert, that they would poignard the firſt man who ſhould move for

for the affranchiſement of the vaſſals *. Notwithſtanding this, however, count Scheremetoff, the richeſt individual of all Ruſſia †, got up, and declared that he would willingly agree to this affranchiſement. The debate was carried on with great warmth, which grew to ſuch a height, that fatal conſequences were to be apprehended; and the deputies were diſmiſſed to their reſpective provinces.

However, previous to the diſſolution of this aſſembly, the members were required to ſignalize the meeting by ſome conſpicuous act of gratitude. It was thought right that, though the benefit that was intended for the ſubjects ſhould be loſt to them, it ought not to be ſo to the ſovereign who had conceived the noble idea of it. Accordingly, by a general acclamation, the titles of Great, Wiſe, Prudent, and Mother of the Country, were decreed to that princeſs; but when ſhe was petitioned to accept of thoſe titles, ſhe anſwered, with an aſſumed modeſty, "That if ſhe had rendered herſelf

* This fact has been ſeveral times atteſted by Andrew Schuvaloff, known in France by his pretty epiſtle to Ninon.

† Potemkin was not as yet favourite. Count Scheremetoff poſſeſſed an annual income of 170,000 pounds ſterling. He had belonging to him 150,000 peaſants.

" worthy of the firſt, it belonged to poſterity " to confer it upon her; that wiſdom and pru- " dence were the gifts of heaven, for which ſhe " daily gave thanks, without preſuming to " derive any merit from them herſelf; that " laſtly, the title of mother of the country was " the moſt dear of all in her eyes, the only one " that ſhe could accept, and which ſhe regarded " as the moſt benign and glorious recompence " for her labours and ſollicitudes in behalf of a " people whom ſhe loved."

Proud of the work which had obtained her ſuch flattering marks of homage, Catharine eagerly diſpatched copies of her inſtructions to the ſovereigns whoſe approbation ſhe moſt coveted. They complimented her on her laborious enterpriſe, and made no heſitation to pronounce that it would be an eternal monument to her glory. The king of Pruſſia, who knew how ſenſible ſhe was to praiſe, and who was always laviſh of it with leſs delicacy than eaſe, wrote to her a long letter, which, among other things, contained this flattering obſervation: " No woman has hitherto " been a legiſlatrix. That glory was re- " ſerved for the empreſs of Ruſſia, who well " deſerves it."

The

The empreſs received this letter * at Kazan, having had a deſire to viſit her provinces in Aſia, and the famous ſhores of the Volga.

Count Solms, miniſter of the king of Pruſſia, on ſending this letter to count Panin, wrote him a note to the following purport: "I haſten to tranſmit to your excellency the letter which the king my maſter has had the honour to compoſe, in anſwer to that with which her imperial majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to accompany the preſent of her inſtruction for the formation of the new code in Ruſſia, ordering me to cauſe it to be preſented to her imperial majeſty. He ſubjoins, with his own hand, in the diſpatch which he has addreſſed to me, "I have read with "admiration the work of the empreſs. I was "not willing to tell her all that I think of it, "becauſe ſhe might have ſuſpected me of flat-"tery; but I may ſay to you, with due defer-"ence to modeſty, that it is a maſculine per-"formance, nervous, and worthy of a great "man. We are told by hiſtory, that Semi-"ramis commanded armies. Queen Elizabeth "has been accounted a good politician. The "empreſs-queen has ſhewn great intrepidity on "her acceſſion to the throne; but no woman "has ever been a legiſlatrix. That glory was

* Which ſee in the Appendix at the end of the volume.

" reſerved for the empreſs of Ruſſia, who de-
" ſerves it."

It certainly redounds much to the praiſe of Catharine, that theſe inſtructions are founded on the principles of an enlightened humanity; and that, though autocratrix and of unlimited power, ſhe recognizes no legitimate authority but that which is founded on juſtice; every particular in her laws has a tendency to enervate deſpotiſm, and to render a juſt authority reſpectable. Her purpoſe is to form a ſolid, and not an arbitrary legiſlation. Her whole plan is directed to prevent all thoſe who govern under her from exerciſing a capricious and cruel authority, by ſubjecting them to invariable laws, which no authority ſhould be able to infringe.

The accompliſhment of this grand deſign, however, did not proceed ſo ſmoothly as the firſt ſteps gave room to expect. Either it was found that the plan of a convocation of the nation by its deputies was beginning at too high a pitch, and that in an aſſembly compoſed of ſuch a diverſity of tribes, manners, and tongues, it would be impoſſible to come to any common concluſions; or the whole apparatus was uſed only as a machine, and ſuffered to fall when it had anſwered the end for which it was contrived.

A few

A few articles in theſe inſtructions will ſuffice to ſhew the principles on which they are drawn up.

" The ſpirit of the nation, the nation itſelf, " ought to be conſulted in the framing of laws.

" Theſe laws ſhould be conſidered no other- " wiſe than as a means of conducting mankind " to the greateſt happineſs.

" It is our duty to mitigate the lot of thoſe " who live in a ſtate of dependence.

" The liberty and the ſecurity of the citizens " ought to be the grand and precious objects " of all laws; they ſhould all tend to render " life, honour, and property, as ſtable and ſe- " cure as the conſtitution of the government " itſelf.

" The liberty of the ſubjects ought only to be " reſtricted concerning what it would be diſad- " vantageous to them to do.

" In cauſes purely civil, the laws ſhould be " ſo clear and preciſe, that the judgments re- " ſulting from them be always in perfect uniſon " in the ſame caſes, in order to remove that ju- " riſprudence of deciſions which is ſo often a " ſource of uncertainties, of errors, or acts of in- " juſtice, according as a cauſe has been well or ill " defended at one time or at another, gained or " loſt according to influence or circumſtances."

We read with equal pleaſure the inſtructions ſhe preſcribes to be followed in the criminal conſtitution:

" It is incomparably better to prevent crimes " than to puniſh them.

" The life of the meaneſt citizen is of conſe- " quence; and no one ſhould be deprived of it, " except when it is attacked or required by the " country.

" In like manner his liberty ſhould be re- " ſpected, by being difficult about impriſon- " ment, by carefully diſtinguiſhing the caſes " where the laws will diſpenſe with it, as alſo " thoſe in which the public ſafety requires arreſt- " ation, detention, or formal impriſonment, and " in this caſe even concerning different priſons.

" In the methods of trial, the uſe of torture " is contrary to ſound reaſon. Humanity cries " out againſt this practice, and inſiſts on its being " aboliſhed.

" A priſoner is not to be ſacrificed to the " torrent of opinions. Judgment muſt be no- " thing but the preciſe text of the law; and the " office of the judge is only to pronounce whether " the action is conformable or contrary to it."

Concerning puniſhments:

" The aim of puniſhment is not to torment " ſenſible beings.

" All

" All puniſhment is unjuſt when it is not " neceſſary to the maintenance of the public " ſafety.

" The atrocity of puniſhments is reprobated " by the compaſſion that is due to human na- " ture; whenever it is uſeleſs, it is a ſufficient " reaſon to regard it as unjuſt, and, as ſuch, to " reject it.

" In the ordinary ſtate of ſociety, the death " of a citizen is neither uſeful nor neceſſary."

All that follows under this head, touching the proportion that ſhould be obſerved between crimes and puniſhments; on the rarity of the caſes where the crime deſerves death; on the rule to be obſerved in confiſcations, which the empreſs would not extend beyond acquired property, and a number of other ideas are ſuch as could only proceed from goodneſs of heart and profound meditation. The whole amount of the articles of her inſtructions is in number 525; and the very publication and diſperſion of the book throughout the empire has been attended with ſalutary effects. It was doubtleſs a great and arduous undertaking, and worthy of an exalted mind.

The inſtruction of the empreſs is not a law-book itſelf. She only ſays, " Such regulations " ſhould

" ſhould be made. — In the firſt place it ſhould " be examined, whether," &c. But it muſt be confeſſed, that excellent ſuggeſtions are thus delivered, which certainly have produced, and muſt continue to produce, great effects. Thus we find it ſaid, chap. xi. " Peter I. promulgated a " law in 1722, that perſons who were not of ſound " mind, and who oppreſs their ſerfs, ſhould be " put under guardians. The former point of " this law has been kept up; why the latter is not " enforced is not known." — Again, chap. xii. " It ſeems too, that the new manner in which " noblemen exact their dues from the peaſantry " is hurtful to population. There is ſcarcely a " village which does not pay certain tributes to its " lord in money. The lord, who never, or but " very rarely, ſees his village, impoſes on every " head a tax of one, two, and even to five rubles, " without concerning himſelf how the peaſant is " to pay that ſum. It will be abſolutely indiſ- " penſable to preſcribe laws to the nobility, " obliging them to act more circumſpectly in " the manner of levying their dues, and to " require of the peaſant tributes of ſuch a nature " as ſhall remove him as little as poſſible from " his houſe and family. By this means agricul- " ture will be better followed, and the popula-

" tion

" tion of the empire be increaſed. At preſent,
" a labourer leaves his home at the age of fifteen
" to go and ſeek his ſubſiſtence in diſtant towns;
" roams about the empire, and pays his dues
" annually from what he earns."

" If, for ſome political reaſon, it be not prac-
" ticable to free the boors throughout the empire
" from their vaſſalage, yet means ſhould be
" thought of to enable them to acquire property.
" In purſuance of this idea, ſhould not a method
" be deviſed for gradually bettering the condi-
" tion of this lower claſs of people?" Is not ſuch language, which evinces ſo much ſagacity and benevolence, the fitteſt for the mouth of a monarch who is deſirous of making improvements, without undertaking the boiſterous and intemperate part of an auſtere reformer? It is a great matter, if a prince ſhews that he underſtands the vices of the country, and knows how they may be remedied. Suppoſe even that nothing farther is done, muſt not every conſiderate ſpectator feel himſelf inclined to believe that this ſagacity and this benevolence have met with difficulties which were abſolutely not to be overcome? But ſuch words are never loſt: under Catharine much was effected by what ſhe planned with prudent moderation. In ſome

places, however, ſhe expreſſes herſelf deciſively, and with command; and wherever this is the caſe, the inſtruction retains the virtual force of a law.

The whole performance is an excellent compendium of choice obſervations, of juſt maxims, and of generous ſentiments; and at the ſame time a beautiful collection of ſtriking paſſages from the celebrated philoſophers of Greece and Rome, of apt examples from ancient and modern hiſtory, from the manners of cultivated and ſavage nations, and even from ſuch nations as are not very much known to the reſt of Europe, the Chineſe and other Aſiatics. Whoever would make himſelf acquainted with the philoſophy of legiſlation, might reap conſiderable advantage by taking it as his manual.

In addition to the paſſages above cited from this work, as a ſpecimen of the ſentiments of Catharine, it will not be amiſs to extract a few others, if it be only to ſhew, that upwards of thirty years ago a monarch delivered the beſt of thoſe which, in the opinion of ſome, were firſt diſcovered by the republicans of the preſent day. A lofty philoſophical ſtation is taken in the 6th chapter: "Several things influence "mankind, religion, climate, laws, maxims "of government, examples of things paſt, "manners,

" manners, cuſtoms, from which, as the re-
" ſult, a public mind is formed." Elucidations of this maxim from the characteriſtics of various nations ſucceed to this. Then, " It is
" the buſineſs of the legiſlator to follow the tem-
" per of the nation; for we do nothing better than
" what we do voluntarily, and in purſuance of our
" natural diſpoſition. For eſtabliſhing a more
" perfect legiſlation, it is neceſſary that the
" minds of men ſhould be previouſly prepared
" for it. But in order to defeat the pretext
" uſually alleged, that it is not poſſible to do
" good, becauſe the minds are not yet diſpoſed
" to admit it, take the pains to prepare them for
" it: this will be already a great ſtep advanced."
" When it is intended to make great changes in a
" nation, that may turn to its benefit, that which
" has been eſtabliſhed by laws ſhould be reform-
" ed by laws; and what cuſtom has brought into
" practice ſhould be changed by cuſtom; and it
" is very bad policy to change by laws what ought
" to be changed by cuſtom."

Chap. viii. of puniſhments. " Examine with
" attention into the cauſe of all relaxations, and
" it will be ſeen that they ariſe from the impunity
" of crimes, and not from the moderation of
" puniſhments." — " It often happens that a
" legiſlator, who intends to correct an evil, con-

" fines

" fines his thoughts to that correction: his eyes " are open to that object, and ſhut to the incon- " veniences attending it." — Chap. ix. " If you " conſider the forms of law in regard to the " trouble a citizen has to obtain his right, or " to get ſatisfaction for ſome injury, you will " doubtleſs find them too many; if you regard " them in the relation they bear to the liberty " and ſecurity of the citizens, you will often find " them too few, and you will ſee that the puniſh- " ments, the expences, the delays, even the " danger of the deciſion are the price that " every citizen pays for his liberty." Not to be farther tedious, we will conclude with the following: " Would you prevent crimes; con- " trive that the laws favour leſs the different " orders of citizens, than each citizen in parti- " cular. Let men fear the laws and nothing " but the laws. Would you prevent crimes; " provide that reaſon and knowledge be more " and more diffuſed among mankind. To con- " clude; the moſt ſure, but the moſt difficult " method of making men better is by rendering " education more complete." Nothing that relates to government is left untouched in this little book. The maxims of politics, of tole- ration, and of juſtice, are thus loudly and pow- erfully delivered from the throne, and have thereby

thereby received, as it were, one ſanction more.

Still proceeding on the ſame enlarged and enlightened plan which we have before had occaſion to commend, the empreſs continued to cultivate and encourage the arts and ſciences; to make her empire an aſylum to the learned and ingenious; and to reform the manners and inſtruct the minds of the people, through the extent of its moſt diſtant provinces.

The tranſit of the planet Venus over the ſun, which was to happen in the ſummer of 1769, added a new opportunity of ſhewing as well the munificence of Catharine as the attention ſhe paid to aſtronomy. This great princeſs wrote a letter from Moſco with her own hand, to count Vladimir Orloff, director of the academy of ſciences at Peterſburg*; wherein ſhe deſires the academy to inform her of the moſt proper places in her dominions for the making of thoſe obſervations; with an offer to ſend workmen and artiſts, and to conſtruct buildings in all thoſe places which the academy might think proper for the purpoſe, and to grant every other aſſiſtance requiſite to the undertaking. She alſo de-

* For which the reader is referred to the Appendix at the end of the volume.

ſired,

ſired, that if there were not ſufficient aſtronomers in the academy to make obſervations in all the places required, to give her notice, that ſhe might ſend a proper number of the officers of her marine, to qualify themſelves under the eye of the profeſſors in the academy, for that undertaking. Such is the extent of that vaſt empire, that the obſervations which were made, both on the tranſit and exit of this planet, the one in the frozen regions towards the pole, and the other on the borders of the Caſpian, were made within its own limits; to ſome part of which aſtronomers from every corner of Europe went to behold that remarkable occurrence.

The academy at Peterſburg applied to a member of the royal ſociety of London, to procure the neceſſary inſtruments for the purpoſe of proceeding ſucceſsfully in that important obſervation *. Mr. Ramoſſky, who was the writer upon this occaſion, candidly acknowledged the great joy of the academy, and their obligations to Mr. Short, for procuring them thoſe inſtruments; and confeſſed their doubts of being able to anſwer the views of the empreſs, till they had received his letter.

* See the Appendix at the end of the volume.

What

What appears ſomewhat ſurpriſing is, that while Catharine was ſtriving to build her fame upon a ſolid baſis, ſhe made it a matter of much importance to obtain from all the powers of Europe, the title of Imperial majeſty, which ſome of them had refuſed her. The king of Sweden had long ſince given it to Catharine; but the Swediſh diet could not be brought to grant it till the commencement of this year*.

1768. Lewis XV. pertinaciouſly delayed to mention her by that ſtyle. Knowing that the ſovereigns of Ruſſia only began to aſſume the title of emperor in the time of Peter the great, he regarded them in ſome ſort as a new nobility: never conſidering that it is the power of princes, and not the antiquity of their race, on which their rights are built. This refuſal of the king of France mortified Catharine; but it was not the only reaſon ſhe had to be irritated againſt him. She had no doubt that this monarch was informed of all the ſecrets of the conſpiracy that had placed her on the throne; and ſhe knew, beſides, that the ambaſſador of France at the Porte, had been labouring long to make the Turks declare againſt Ruſſia.

* The 6th of February.

What then would ſhe have thought if ſhe had read a letter concerning this, written by the duke de Choiſeul?—"We know," ſaid he, "the ill-"judged animoſity of the court of Ruſſia againſt "France. The king ſo heartily deſpiſes at "once the princeſs who reigns in that country, "and her ſentiments and her conduct, that it is "our intention not to take a ſingle ſtep towards "inducing her to change them. The king "thinks that the hatred of Catharine II. is "far more honourable than her friendſhip. At "the ſame time he is deſirous of avoiding an "open rupture."

But the ſhuffling tricks of a foreign court and the dangers of war could cauſe no great diſturbance to Catharine; perhaps they were even as neceſſary to her as the cares ſhe beſtowed on the adminiſtration of the empire, for eluding the bitterneſs of ſuch reflections as might occaſionally ariſe in her mind. She often imagined that in one adverſe moment ſhe might be deſpoiled of the fruit of her labours and ingenuity, and that ſome of her ſubjects might be ardently wiſhing for its arrival. The name of Peter III. was become dear to the Ruſſians. They recollected with pleaſure the good he had done; and the deſire he had of doing more: they forgot his failings and infirmities, expiated

by

by a ſeries of misfortunes. They lamented the deplorable end of that prince; and the multitude of malcontents diſperſed throughout the empire might ſecretly contain more than one avenger.

Senſibly touched with the deplorable death of the tzar, and incenſed at ſeeing his murderers ſharing his power, a young officer, named Tſchoglokoff, reſolved to avenge it, and even thought himſelf inſpired with the deſign by the ſuggeſtions of heaven. After having long reflected on the means of executing his ſanguinary project, he reſorted to the palace for ſeveral days in ſucceſſion, always lurking in ſome of the dark paſſages leading to the inner apartments, to which the empreſs retired when ſhe wiſhed to be alone. The preſervation of her majeſty was on this occaſion owing to an accidental circumſtance, which prevented her from going, according to cuſtom, along the paſſage where Tſchoglokoff was waiting her coming. Diſconcerted by a delay which he had not foreſeen, and impatient to ſtrike the blow which he thought beneficial to his country, and glorious to himſelf, this young man had the imprudence to truſt his ſecret to another officer whom he thought his friend. This officer ran in haſte to betray him. Orloff, thus informed of the mea-

ſures that were taken by Tſchoglokoff, and the inſtant when he was again to expect the empreſs, cauſed him to be arreſted in his ambuſcade. He was found armed with a long poignard, and confeſſed, without heſitation, the uſe for which he deſigned it. Catharine, always ſufficiently miſtreſs of herſelf for concealing her indignation and her fears, pretended to forgive the raſh attempt of the youth, whom political fanaticiſm had deluded from his duty. She even had him brought into her preſence, and ſpoke to him with mildneſs. This generoſity was only apparent. Catharine wiſhed to conceal from the public a wicked deſign, which, if it had been known, might ſoon have been imitated. But, as ſhe did not flatter herſelf with the hopes of entirely converting a man who, from an exceſs of humanity, was about to become an aſſaſſin, ſhe quickly cauſed Tſchoglokoff to be put into priſon, and afterwards baniſhed to the heart of Siberia.

Some time before the period of which we are treating, the deputies of the two ruſſian trading companies, one eſtabliſhed at Kamtſhatka, and the other at the mouth of the river Kovima, gave the court of Peterſburg an account of their diſcoveries. Thoſe of Kovima, ſetting out from that river, doubled the cape called Tſchutſkoi-noſs, in 74 deg. north lat. and falling down

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to the ſouth, through the ſtrait which ſeparates Europe from America, they diſcovered ſome inhabited iſlands in the 64th degree of latitude, where they went aſhore, and ſettled a trade with the inhabitants, for their fineſt furs, ſome of which they brought to the empreſs, particularly a parcel of the moſt beautiful black foxes ſkins that ever were ſeen. They named theſe iſlands the iſlands of Aleÿut; ſome of them are very near the continent of America*. Thoſe of Kamtſhatka went to the northward, and met their companions at the above iſlands; ſo that, for the convenience of trade, they fixed a factory at the iſle of Behring. When this report was made, the court came to a reſolution of puſhing theſe diſcoveries; and lieutenant-colonel Blenmer was ſent, accompanied by ſeveral able geographers, with orders to ſail from the river Anadyr to the ſame coaſts, and even beyond them.

About the middle of the year 1767, the empreſs conceived the uſeful project of ſending ſeveral learned men to travel into the interior of her vaſt territories, for the purpoſe of determining the geographical poſition of the principal places, of marking their temperature, and of

* For a farther account of ſome of theſe diſcoveries the reader is referred to "Varieties of Literature," vol. ii. p. 1. printed for Debrett, Piccadilly.

examining into the nature of their ſoil, their productions, their wealth, as well as the manners and characters of the ſeveral people by whom they are inhabited.

A country of ſuch a prodigious extent as the ruſſian empire muſt naturally attract the notice of every man who wiſhes to increaſe his knowledge, whether it be conſidered in regard to the aſtoniſhing number of tribes and nations by which it is inhabited, the great diverſity of climates under which they live, or the almoſt infinite quantity of natural curioſities with which it abounds. But the greater part of this country is ſtill immerſed in the profoundeſt barbariſm, and almoſt inacceſſible to the inveſtigations of the ordinary traveller. Here, vagrant hordes of people, who, entirely addicted to the paſtoral life, roam from place to place, ſhunning the ſocial manners of towns and villages, negligent of agriculture, and leaving uncultivated and almoſt in a deſert ſtate vaſt tracts of land bleſſed with the moſt favourable ſoil and the moſt happy temperature of ſeaſons: there, peaſants, and even in many places inhabitants of towns, ſlaves to a thouſand prejudices, languiſhing in bondage to the moſt ſtupid ſuperſtitions; brought up, beſides, in the ſevereſt ſervitude, and being accuſtomed to obey by no other means than blows,

blows, are forced to ſubmit to the harſheſt treatment: none of thoſe affectionate admonitions, thoſe prudent and impelling motives, which uſually urge mankind to action, make any impreſſion on their degraded minds; they reluctantly labour the fields of a hard maſter, and ſtudiouſly conceal from his knowledge thoſe riches which ſome accident, ſo deſirable in other countries, ſhould have led them to diſcover; as they would only augment the number of their toils and the heavineſs of their yoke. Hence that careleſs contempt for the treaſures preſented them by nature, and the neglect of thoſe bounties ſhe laviſhes on them. Hence thoſe immenſe deſerts almoſt totally deſtitute of cultivation, and ſo many towns that are falling to decay.

Peter the great, of too penetrating a view not to perceive both the evil and its cauſes, took all imaginable pains, and adopted the wiſeſt meaſures to ameliorate the condition of an empire, ſo powerful from numberleſs other circumſtances, to free his ſubjects by gentle degrees from the ſhackles of barbariſm, to diffuſe on all ſides the benign light of arts and ſciences, to diſcover the treaſures concealed in his dominions, and to furniſh agriculture with the remedies and aſſiſtances adapted to its improvement. His travels into ſeveral countries of Europe for

the acquiſition of ſuch kinds of knowledge as were moſt applicable to the uſe of his dominions, are ſufficiently known; as well as that in 1717 he honoured the royal academy of ſciences at Paris with his preſence, and expreſſed his deſire the following year to be admitted a member; that he kept up a regular correſpondence with that illuſtrious body, and that he ſent to it, as the firſt eſſay of his ingenious and magnificent enterpriſes, an accurate chart of the Caſpian, which he cauſed to be ſcrupulouſly taken on the ſpot. At the ſame time he fitted out and diſpatched ſeveral men of letters to various parts of his empire; one of them to make the tour of Ruſſia, and two others to proceed to Kazan and Aſtrakhan, to gain information of every thing of conſequence to be known in thoſe countries. In the year 1719, Daniel Amadeus Meſſerſchmidt, a phyſician of Dantzic, was ſent into Siberia, for the purpoſe of making inquiries into the natural hiſtory of that immenſe province, from which expedition he only returned at the beginning of 1727. This learned man did honour to the choice that had been made of him, by an indefatigable activity, and by the proofs he gave of his profound knowledge, not only in every department of natural hiſtory, but likewiſe in antiquities, as well

well as in aſtronomy, having carefully determined the elevation of the pole in all the places where he ſtopped.

The northern regions, particularly thoſe of Siberia, being as yet but little known, and it being very uncertain whether the extremity of theſe latter might not touch upon America, Peter I. ſent from Archangel two ſhips, with orders to proceed, by the White-ſea and the Northern-ocean into the Frozen-ocean, where they experienced the ſame diſaſters as had befallen the other veſſels that had gone before them in this attempt; for one of the two was caught among the fields of ice, and diſabled from proceeding any farther; and as no tidings were ever heard of the other, it in all probability periſhed.

Peter I. was not diſcouraged by the failure of this undertaking; but he was carried off by death as he was preparing a new expedition; he had given the charge of it to two daniſh captains, Behring and Spangberg, and a Ruſſian named Tſchirikoff, with orders to go to Kamtſhatka, whence they were to ſail for exploring the northernmoſt coaſts of Siberia. The ſorrowful event of the emperor's death made no alteration in theſe diſpoſitions; and the plan was carried into execution, the ſame winter, by the empreſs

Catha-

Catharine the firſt, who ſent a ſmall company of literati, provided with a paper of inſtructions, which Peter had framed with his own hand. They returned in 1730, after having penetrated very far towards the north.

The empreſs Anne was deſirous of proſecuting theſe important reſearches ſtill farther, and ordered the erection of a new company, in which Behring was to be employed as captain of the ſhip. Kamtſhatka was again the point of departure for making the principal diſcoveries, and the travellers had orders to neglect nothing that might ſhed any light on the knowledge of the globe. One part of this ſociety was to navigate the northern ſeas, while the others were to repair by land to Kamtſhatka over Siberia. Theſe latter were to act conformably with the inſtructions of the imperial academy of Peterſburg, and to employ themſelves particularly in aſtronomical obſervations, geometrical operations, and deſcriptions relative to the political and natural hiſtory of the countries through which they were to paſs.

In 1760, M. l'abbé Chappe d'Auteroche was ſent into Ruſſia, by order and at the expence of the king of France, for obſerving at Tobolſk the tranſit of Venus over the ſun: his obſervations, publiſhed with great oſtentation, contain

not

not near ſo much as was expected from that academician; and many of thoſe which he relates had been already long ſince known.

The empreſs Catharine II. determined to proſecute theſe uſeful inveſtigations, and accordingly gave orders to the academy of ſciences to make choice of a company of able and learned men to travel over different diſtricts of the empire with attention and obſervation. The ſelection of the learned travellers, the helps that were granted them, the excellent inſtructions and advice that were given them will be a laſting honour to that academy. The very names of a Pallas, a Gmelin, and a Guldenſtædt, already promiſed much. M. Lepekhin had likewiſe acquired a reputation by different papers inſerted in the academical collections: and the reſult of the labours of theſe enlightened men has been ſeen in the extenſive utility which they have ſince produced. Very few of the accounts that have been given by travellers contain ſo great a variety of new and important matters. The journals of theſe celebrated ſcholars even furniſh ſuch a great quantity of materials, entirely new, for the hiſtory of the three kingdoms of nature, for the theory of the earth, for rural œconomy, in ſhort, for ſo many different objects relative to the arts and ſciences, that it would require, according

cording to the judicious remark of M. Bekmann of Gœttingen, whole years and the labour of ſeveral literary men only to put theſe materials in order, and properly to claſs them.

The diſcoveries made by the Ruſſians at ſea at various epochas, and particularly during the reign of Catharine II. have been faithfully laid before the public by Mr. Coxe in his well-known work profeſſedly written on that ſubject. It is impoſſible to conſider theſe expenſive and important miſſions without teſtifying our acknowledgment of the benefits that have accrued to ſcience from theſe learned and laborious inveſtigations.

The court of Catharine became now the aſylum of the ſciences, to which ſhe invited learned men from every part of Europe. Among the reſt the celebrated profeſſor Euler from Berlin, on whom her majeſty ſettled a large annual ſtipend, made him a preſent of a houſe, beſides ſhewing him many other marks of her imperial favour and protection. Well knowing, that it is not ſo much by the power of arms as by precedence in the ſciences and the arts that nations obtain a conſpicuous place in the annals of the world, Catharine with a laudable zeal encouraged artiſts and ſcholars of all denominations. She granted new privileges to the academy of ſciences, and exhorted its members

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to add the names of ſeveral celebrated foreigners to thoſe which already conferred a luſtre on their ſociety.

Nor was ſhe leſs attentive to the academy of arts, by increaſing the number of its pupils, and adding ſuch regulations as tended more than ever to the attainment of the end of its endowment. Scholars were now not to be taken in after the age of ſix years, that the defects of a bad education might not yet have had time to ſpoil their temper or corrupt their manners. Delivered for three years to the care of women, they are then put into the hands of tutors, and are devoted to the art to which they ſhew the moſt inclination. They may become painters, ſculptors, architects, watchmakers, engravers, or learn the art of caſting in metals, and of making mathematical and optical inſtruments. During the whole of the time they are in the academy they are not permitted to receive any thing from their parents. They are clothed, fed, and lodged at the public expence. At the end of fifteen years they leave the inſtitution; and, if their behaviour correſpond with the pains that have been beſtowed on their education, they are preſented with patents of nobility.

Independently of theſe advantages, ſuch of the pupils as have carried the higheſt prizes, receive

receive the before-mentioned penſion for travelling three years over Europe.

It is frequently obſerved, that though this inſtitution has now ſubſiſted upwards of half a century, yet it has produced no great artiſt; and that it has ſerved no other purpoſe than to furniſh Voltaire with a ſubject of pompous declamation, and to make annually a paragraph in the newſpapers of Germany, oſtentatiouſly deſcribing the ceremony of diſtributing the prizes in the preſence of the empreſs and the grand duke, with their pathetic ſpeeches on the occaſion; and that, anſwering that purpoſe, nothing farther was intended. Yet even admitting the love of fame to be the only motive at the time, the inſtitution may hereafter find motives of its own, ariſing from intereſt, or a deſire of excelling, as a civilized public ſhall increaſe, and the approbation of their performances no longer be conſidered as a matter of form and confined to the court.

Still farther to encourage the fine arts in her dominions, the empreſs aſſigned an annual ſum of 5000 rubles for the tranſlation of foreign literary works into the ruſſian language.

At this time the ſmall-pox was very rife in St. Peterſburg, which occaſioned the empreſs and the grand duke her ſon to remain at Tzarſko-ſelo,

ſko-ſelo, inſtead of coming to town as uſual. The counteſs Scheremetoff was carried off by that diſtemper a few days before ſhe was to have been married to count Panin, for which event great preparations had been made. It was neither poſſible, nor was it material, to aſcertain how the infection penetrated the receſſes of the court; but perſons of rank and fortune were alarmed that neither one nor the other afforded any ſecurity againſt the ravages of this dreadful diſeaſe. The danger to which her majeſty and the grand duke were expoſed, together with her majeſty's zeal for the welfare of her ſubjects, gave riſe to a propoſal for introducing the practice of inoculation.

The firſt perſonages in the empire determined to ſet the example, by ſubmitting to the operation; and a reſolution was accordingly taken by the empreſs, to invite a phyſician from England, where inoculation had been moſt practiſed, and was generally allowed to have received ſome modern and very conſiderable improvements*.

Accordingly Dr. Thomas Dimſdale, about the beginning of July 1768, received a letter at

* See tracts on inoculation, written and publiſhed at St. Peterſburg in the year 1768, by command of the empreſs of Ruſſia, by the hon. baron T. Dimſdale, 1781.

Hertford

Hertford from M. Pouſchin, the ruſſian miniſter at the court of London, repreſenting that the empreſs, having a deſire to engage an able phyſician to go to St. Peterſburg, in order to introduce inoculation, he wiſhed to ſee him as ſoon as poſſible. At the interview that enſued, great encouragements were held out; but the doctor, from domeſtic conſiderations, at firſt ſhewed ſome heſitation; when a ſecond courier arriving, and ſome circumſtances rendering it apparent that the empreſs and grand duke were immediately intereſted in the application, he prepared for his journey with all expedition, and accordingly ſet out on the 28th of July.

Two days after his arrival, the doctor, in conſequence of a previous notice, waited on count Panin, who, after the uſual ſalutations, ſaid to him, "You are now called, ſir, to the moſt "important employment that perhaps any gen- "tleman was ever entruſted with. To your "ſkill and integrity will probably be ſubmitted "no leſs than the precious lives of two of the "greateſt perſonages in the world, with whoſe "ſafety the tranquillity and happineſs of this "great empire are ſo intimately connected, that "ſhould an accident deprive us of either, the "bleſſings we now enjoy might be turned to "the utmoſt ſtate of miſery and confuſion.

"May

" May God avert ſuch unſpeakable calamities! " But the hazard of the infection of the ſmall-" pox, in the natural way, is ſo threatening, " that we are compelled to have recourſe to the " expedient of inoculation; which, though ſo " little known in this country, has been adopted " and practiſed in England with the greateſt " ſucceſs. We have phyſicians of great learn-" ing and abilities in their profeſſion; but not " being experienced in this new branch of " practice, her imperial majeſty was pleaſed to " lay her commands upon her miniſters, to " inquire after and engage a perſon of the beſt " abilities in it, and whoſe ſucceſs had been " confirmed by long practice. You come to " us well recommended in theſe eſſential points; " I ſhall therefore repoſe the utmoſt confidence " in you, and have only to requeſt that you " will act without the leaſt reſerve.

" As to the reſolution of the empreſs in this " particular, with regard to herſelf, I muſt " leave to her majeſty to explain her own ſen-" timents; but with reſpect to the grand duke, " he is already determined on the operation, " provided you encourage it: it has been ſub-" mitted to his own conſideration; he approves, " and even wiſhes it. I have therefore to " requeſt, that before an affair of ſo great con-

" ſequence is finally ſettled, you would make " yourſelf well acquainted with his conſtitution " and ſtate of health."

" His imperial highneſs knows you are ar- " rived, expects to ſee you, and invites you to " wait on him to-morrow. I can venture to " aſſure you, that he will be eaſy of acceſs, " and willing to be acquainted with you. Be " with him as much as poſſible; ſee him at his " table, and at his amuſements; make your " obſervations, and, in ſhort, ſtudy his conſti- " tution. Let us not be too precipitate; but " when every circumſtance has been duly " attended to, report your opinion freely, and " depend on this, that if you ſhould deem the " operation hazardous, and adviſe againſt it, " we ſhall think ourſelves equally obliged to " you; nor will the acknowledgments on ac- " count of this expedition be inferior to what " it will be upon the utmoſt ſucceſs."

In anſwer to this, the doctor aſſured the count that he would in every reſpect attend to his intimations, and that he might depend on his making a juſt report.

The empreſs came to town that evening, and the next day, the two Dimſdales were preſented. On this occaſion there were only preſent with her majeſty, count Panin and baron Cherkaſſoff, preſident

preſident of the college of medicine, who having been educated at the univerſity of Cambridge, ſpoke very good Engliſh. Catharine ſhewed great perſpicacity in the queſtions ſhe put concerning the practice and ſucceſs of inoculation. On his retiring, Dr. Dimſdale was invited to dine with her majeſty the ſame day; and as the account of the manners obſerved at the empreſs's table will neither be foreign to our purpoſe, nor unentertaining to the reader, we ſhall give it in the doctor's own words:

"The empreſs ſat ſingly at the upper end of a long table, at which about twelve of the nobility were gueſts. The entertainment conſiſted of a variety of excellent diſhes, ſerved up after the french manner, and was concluded by a deſſert of the fineſt fruits and ſweetmeats, ſuch as I little expected to find in that northern climate. Moſt of theſe luxuries were, however, the produce of the empreſs's own dominions. Pine-apples indeed are chiefly imported from England, though thoſe of the growth of Ruſſia, of which we had one that day, are of good flavour, but generally ſmall. Water-melons and grapes are brought from Aſtrakhan; great plenty of melons from Moſco, and apples and pears from the Ukraine.

" But what enlivened the whole entertainment was the moſt unaffected eaſe and affability of the empreſs herſelf. Each of her gueſts had a ſhare of her attention and politeneſs; the converſation was kept up with a freedom and cheerfulneſs to be expected rather from perſons of the ſame rank, than from ſubjects admitted to the honour of their ſovereign's company."

On the following day another converſation with the empreſs enſued, in which Dr. Dimſdale requeſted the aſſiſtance of the court phyſicians, to whom he deſired to communicate every propoſed regulation and medicine; but the empreſs would by no means conſent to any ſuch conſultation, and gave her reaſons as follows:

" You are come well recommended to me; " the converſation I have had with you on this " ſubject has been very ſatisfactory; and my " confidence in you is increaſed. I have not " the leaſt doubt of your abilities and knowledge " in this practice; it is impoſſible that my " phyſicians can have much ſkill in this opera- " tion; they want experience; their interpoſi- " tion may tend to embarraſs you, without the " leaſt probability of giving any uſeful aſſiſtance. " My life is my own; and I ſhall with the " utmoſt cheerfulueſs and confidence rely on

" your care alone. With regard to my conſti-
" tution you could receive no information from
" them. I have had, I thank God, ſo good a
" ſhare of health, that their advice has never
" been required; and you ſhall, from myſelf,
" receive every information that can be neceſ-
" ſary. I have alſo to acquaint you, that it is
" my determination to be inoculated before the
" grand duke, and as ſoon as you judge it conve-
" nient. At the ſame time I deſire that this
" may remain a ſecret buſineſs; and I enjoin
" you to let it be ſuppoſed that, for the preſent,
" all thoughts of my own inoculation are laid
" aſide. The preparation of this great experi-
" ment on the grand duke will countenance
" your viſits to the palace; and I deſire to ſee
" you as often as it may ſeem neceſſary, that
" you may become ſtill better acquainted with
" what relates to my conſtitution, and alſo for
" adjuſting the time and other circumſtances of
" my own inoculation."

He promiſed obedience to her majeſty's commands; and only propoſed that ſome experiments might firſt be made by inoculating ſome of her own ſex and age, and as near as could be of ſimilar habit. The empreſs replied, " that
" if the practice had been novel, or the leaſt
" doubt of the general ſucceſs had remained,

" that precaution might be neceſſary; but, as " ſhe was well ſatisfied in both particulars, there " would be no occaſion for delay on any " account."

The empreſs, on being inoculated privately, went * the next morning to Tzarſko-ſelo. At firſt no other perſons were there but the neceſſary attendants, it being given out that her majeſty's journey was only to give directions about ſome alterations, and that her ſtay would be ſhort. But ſeveral of the nobility ſoon followed, and the empreſs obſerving among them ſome whom ſhe ſuſpected not to have had the ſmall-pox, ſaid to Dr. Dimſdale; " I muſt " rely on you to give me notice when it is " poſſible for me to communicate the diſeaſe; " for, though I could wiſh to keep my inocula- " tion a ſecret, yet far be it from me to conceal " it a moment, when it may become hazardous " to others." The empreſs, during this interval, took part in every amuſement with her uſual affability, without ſhewing the leaſt token of uneaſineſs or concern; conſtantly dined at the ſame table with the nobility, and enlivened the whole court with thoſe peculiar graces of

* On the 12th of October.

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converſation, for which ſhe was ever diſtinguiſhed *.

The grand duke ſhortly after † ſubmitted to the operation; and, on his recovery, Catharine rewarded the ſervices of Dr. Dimſdale by creating him a baron of the ruſſian empire, and appointing him actual counſellor of ſtate, and phyſician to her imperial majeſty, with a penſion of 500l. a-year, to be paid him in England; beſides 10,000l. ſterling which he immediately received; and alſo preſented him with a miniature picture of herſelf, and another of the grand duke, as a memorial of his ſervices. Her majeſty was

* Shortly after being inoculated Catharine wrote to Voltaire: — "I have not kept my bed a ſingle inſtant, and I "have received company every day. I am about to have "my only ſon inoculated. The grand maſter of artillery, "count Orloff, that hero who reſembles the antient "Romans in the beſt times of the republic (1), both in "courage and in generoſity, doubting whether he had ever "had the ſmall-pox, has put himſelf under the hands of our "Engliſhman; and the next day after the operation, went "to the hunt, in a very deep fall of ſnow. A great num-"ber of courtiers have followed his example, and many "others are preparing to do ſo. Beſides this, inoculation "is now carried on at Peterſburg, in three ſeminaries of "education, and in an hoſpital, eſtabliſhed under the inſpec-"tion of M. Dimſdale."

† On the 1ſt of November.

(1) Romans!—the Orloffs!

likewiſe pleaſed to expreſs her approbation of the conduct of his ſon, by conferring on him the ſame title, and ordering him to be preſented with a ſuperb gold ſnuff-box, richly ſet with diamonds.

The examples of theſe illuſtrious perſonages had ſuch immediate influence, that moſt of the nobility both of St. Peterſburg and Moſco were impatient to have their families inoculated. This buſineſs being happily accompliſhed, baron Dimſdale was preparing to return to England, and indeed was juſt ſetting out, when a nobleman came to inform him that the empreſs was deſirous of ſeeing him. The baron was much concerned to find her with every ſymptom of a pleuretic fever, and therefore at her deſire again took up his reſidence in the palace. The ſymptoms increaſed; but, upon being bled, her majeſty received immediate relief, and in a ſhort time the moſt alarming ſymptoms abated. So ſoon as the empreſs was recovered, which was in about three weeks, the baron again prepared for his journey to England. Having taken his leave, and received farther proofs of the munificence of her imperial majeſty, the baron was attended to Riga by an officer commiſſioned to ſee that every neceſſary accommodation ſhould

be

be provided, in the ſame manner as at his firſt arrival in the country *.

On the 3d of December 1768, a thankſgiving ſervice was performed in the chapel of the palace, on account of her majeſty's recovery and that of the grand duke, from the ſmall-pox. The ceremony was very ſolemn and magnificent. On each ſide of the imperial chapel, which is a lofty and ſpacious room in the winter palace, is a row of gilt ionic columns. The walls are covered with taudry and ill-executed pictures of ruſſian ſaints. On the roof, over the catapetaſma and holy doors, is a repreſentation of the Supreme Being, under the figure of an old man in white raiment. Within a railing that extends acroſs the room, and contiguous to the pillar neareſt to the holy doors, on the ſouth ſide, ſtood the empreſs and her ſon; for, by the greek ritual, no perſon is allowed to ſit in church: accordingly there are no ſeats, not even for the ſovereign, who always ſtands during the whole ſervice under a canopy, when not making the uſual proſtrations. In the ſame area, and on both ſides of the ſanc-

* Before baron Dimſdale took his departure from St. Peterſburg, the empreſs purchaſed the houſe that had been built by baron Wolff, formerly britiſh conſul in that city, for the purpoſe of converting it into an inoculation hoſpital, which ſhe accordingly did, and the inſtitution is ſtill ſupported.

tuary,

tuary, were choriſters, gaudily appareled. All the reſt of the congregation ſtood on the outſide of the baluſtrade.

The ceremony opened with ſolemn vocal muſic, no other being admiſſible in the greek church; to this ſucceeded the prayers and ejaculations, which conſtituted the firſt part of the office. Preſently the folding doors of the holieſt were opened from within, and diſplayed to view the penetralia of the temple. Directly oppoſite appeared a large picture of the deſcent from the croſs; on each ſide a gilt colonnade of the ionic order: in the middle of an altar covered with golden tiſſue; and on the altar a crucifix, a three-armed candleſtick, with lighted tapers, emblem of the trinity, and chalices, flagons, patens, and other holy veſſels. A number of venerable prieſts with hoary heads and flowing beards, wearing mitres, ſtudded with precious ſtones of every colour, and coſtly robes of ſilk and damaſk, ſtood in ſolemn attitudes, among the columns of this gorgeous ſanctuary.

From the adytum, or inmoſt receſs, with ſlow and ſolemn ſteps, advanced a prieſt, bearing in his hand a two-branched candleſtick with lighted tapers, ſignificant of the hypoſtatic union of the two natures of the Son of God. He was followed in like manner by another, reciting prayers

prayers as he moved along, and ſwinging a cenſer ſmoking with fragrant odours. Advancing towards her majeſty, he waved the cenſer thrice before her, during which ſhe ſeveral times gracefully bowed, and as often made the ſign of the croſs upon her breaſt. A third prieſt ſucceeded him, bearing on his arms the volume of the goſpel; out of which having read ſome paſſages adapted to the occaſion, he preſented it to the empreſs, who kiſſed it with great devotion.

The prieſts then retired: the folding doors of the ſanctuary were cloſed: the choriſters ſung an anthem, and were anſwered by muſical voices from within. The intonations were deep and ſublime. In a few minutes the folding doors again flew open; the ceremonies of the tapers and incenſe were repeated. Two prieſts advanced, bearing the ſacred ſymbols, the bread and wine of the holy euchariſt, veiled with cloth of gold. Having adminiſtered this *, they retired. The doors were cloſed, and the choral harmony began afreſh.

The doors were opened, and the ſame ceremonies a third time repeated. After this the metropolitan aſcended the pulpit againſt a column oppoſite to the empreſs, and delivered a diſ-

* In the greek church the bread and wine are mixed up together, and adminiſtered with a ſpoon.

courſe;

courſe; in which he celebrated her reſolution and magnanimity; and in the courſe of his ſermon remarked, "that the Ruſſians had bor-"rowed aſſiſtance from Britain, that iſland "famed for wiſdom, bravery, and virtue." The ſermon ended, ſeveral prieſts came from the receſs, and concluded the ſervice with prayers and benedictions.

The ſenate decreed that the event of the recovery after inoculation of the ſovereign and his imperial highneſs ſhould be ſolemnized by an anniverſary feſtival, which has been regularly obſerved ever ſince.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

APPENDIX

TO THE

FIRST VOLUME.

No. I.

Succeſſion of the SOVEREIGNS *of* RUSSIA, GRAND PRINCES *or* GRAND DUKES, TZARS, *and afterwards* EMPERORS; PATRIARCHS, ARCHBISHOPS, BISHOPS, *&c.*

	A. M.	A. C.
Rurik	6369	861
Igor, his ſon, at firſt under the regency of his uncle Oleg	6386	878
Svetoſlaf, ſon, firſt under the regency of his mother Olga, who embraced chriſtianity. Kief was at this time the reſidence or capital	6453	945
Yaropolk, ſon of the grand duke	6480	972
Vladimir, brother, firſt chriſtian prince, and apoſtle of his nation	6488	980
Yaroſlaf, ſon of the grand duke at Kief: his brothers have apanages: thence the different dukedoms	6523	1015
Iſiaſlaf, ſon	6562	1054
Vſevolod, brother	6586	1078

Sviatopolk,

	A. M.	A. C.
Sviatopolk, ſon of the grand duke Iſiaſlaf	6601	1093
Vladimir II. brother of Vſevolod	6622	1114
Mſtiſlaf, ſon	6633	1125
Yaropolk, brother	6640	1132
Viatcheſlaf, brother, abdicates	6646	1138
Vſevolod II. great grandſon of the grand duke Yaroſlaf		
Iſiaſlaf II. ſon of Mſtiſlaf	6654	1146
Roſtiſlaf, brother of Vſevolod II.	6662	1154
Iſiaſlaf III. ſon of David, and great grandſon of Yaroſlaf		
Touri, or *Igor*, or *George*, fourth ſon of the grand duke Vladimir II. He built Moſco: his ſucceſſors leave Kief, and reſide at Vladimir	6663	1155
Michael, ſon, governs with his brother Andrew, and after his death alone	6665	1157
Vſevolod III. brother	6685	1177
Igor, or *George* II. ſon. Conſtantine his brother during two years	6721	1213
Yaroſlaf II. brother, in ſubjection to the Tartars, as the following	6746	1238
St. Alexander Nefsky, ſon	6753	1245
Yaroſlaf III. brother	6771	1263
Vaſſili, or *Baſil*, brother	6778	1270
Dmitri, or *Demetrius*, brother. His brother Andrew ſet up by the Tartars	6785	1277
Daniel, fourth brother: ſince whom the grand dukes reſide at Moſco	6802	1294
Igor, or *George*, ſon, depoſed	6810	1302
Michael, ſon of Yaroſlaf III.	6813	1305
Vaſſili, or *Baſil* II. brother	6828	1320
Igor, re-eſtabliſhed	6833	1325
Ivan, or *John*, brother	6836	1328
Simeon, ſon	6848	1340
Ivan II. brother	6861	1353

Demetrius

	A.M.	A.C.
Demetrius II. ſon. Demetrius, his relation, ſet up by the Tartars, two years	6867	1359
Vaſſili, or *Baſil* III. ſon	6897	1389
Vaſſili IV. ſon. Igor, his uncle, uſurps	6933	1425
Ivan III. ſon. The famous Ivan Vaſſillievitch who threw off the yoke of the Tartars	6970	1462
Vaſſili V. ſon	7014	1506
Ivan IV. ſon, ſurnamed the tyrant, aſſumes the title of tzar	7042	1534
Feodor, or *Theodore*, ſon; the laſt of the race of Rurik	7092	1584
The following are of different families:		
Borice Godunof	7106	1598
Feodor II. ſon	7113	1605
Gregory Atrepief, falſely calling himſelf Demetrius, brother of Feodor I.		
Vaſſili Zuiſki (or *Baſil* VI.) elected	7114	1606
Vladiſlaus of Poland, elected, afterwards rejected	7118	1610
Michael, of the family Romanof (ſtill reigning) elected	7121	1613
Alexey, or *Alexius*, ſon	7153	1645
Feodor, or *Theodore* III. ſon	7184	1676
Ivan V. and *Peter*, brothers, together	7190	1682
Peter alone, afterwards ſtyled, the great, emperor	7204	1696
Ruſſians ceaſe to reckon by the year of the world.		
Catharine, widow of Peter		1725
Peter II. grandſon of Peter the great		1727
Anne, daughter of Ivan		1730
Ivan VI. grandſon of Ivan		1740
Elizabeth Petrovna, or daughter of Peter the great		1741
Peter III. nephew, depoſed		1762
Catharine II. his widow		1762
Paul, ſon		1796

Before

Before the great reformation made by Peter I. both in church and ſtate, the ruſſian eccleſiaſtics lived in the moſt conſummate indolence and licentiouſneſs; maintaining, at the ſame time, an unlimited authority over the people. All matters of controverſy were prohibited them under pain of death. Public inſtruction was given but twice in the year to the people; and that conſiſted only of a portion of ſome homily tranſlated from one of the greek fathers.

The hierarchy conſiſted of the patriarch, who was the next in dignity and authority to the tzar, and always reſided in the city of Moſco; of four metropolitans, ſeven archbiſhops, and but one biſhop: the other clergy were archdeacons, proto-popes, and popes or prieſts.

The patriarchs of Ruſſia were:

Job, eſtabliſhed by Jeremiah of Conſtantinople, in	1588.
Ignatius, placed by the falſe Demetrius	1605.
Hermogenes, after the expulſion of Ignatius	1606.
Philaretes, father of the tzar Michael	1615.
Joaſaph	1634.
Joſeph	1642.
Nicon, depoſed afterwards, in a full ſynod, for ambition and turbulency	1660.
Joaſaph	1667.
Pityroun, or *Peſterim*	1675.
Joachim	1680.
Adrian	1684.

Since whoſe death, in 1703, there has been no patriarch.

The patriarch was abſolute judge in all eccleſiaſtical affairs: he had the power of taking what ſteps he pleaſed towards the reformation of manners, and to condemn capitally ſuch as he judged guilty of profligacy, or of violating the moral order. His ſentences were executed with the quickeſt diſpatch; and ſuch as appealed to his tribunal could not be cited to that of the ſovereign. They had ſometimes even ſtruggled with the authority of the throne.

throne. Nicon openly oppoſed its power * ; and Joachim endeavoured to undermine it by artifice and fraud.

On Palm Sunday, which is a great day in Ruſſia, the patriarch, mounted on a horſe, repreſented our Saviour riding into Jeruſalem. The tzar uſed to go from the caſtle, with the patriarch, to the church which is called Jeruſalem. After a number of people, whoſe buſineſs it was to clean the way, followed a very large chariot drawn by ſix horſes, in the manner of a pageant; in this chariot was placed a tree, with apples, grapes, and figs tied upon its branches, and a number of boys about it, with green twigs and boughs in their hands. All the boyars and nobility of the court attended this magnificent ceremony, and joined in the exclamation of "*Hoſannah to the Son of David! Bleſſed is he "that comes in the name of the Lord! Hoſannah in the higheſt!*" as the patriarch moved along, clothed all in white. The tzar, ſupported by two boyars, and with the imperial diadem on his head, led the horſe by the bridle, which was three or four yards in length. The patriarch wore on his head the great patriarchal infula or mitre, richly ſet with jewels. In his right hand he held a croſs of gold, embelliſhed with a profuſion of diamonds, and other precious ſtones, with which he made the ſign of the croſs over the multitude that thronged about him with great reverence and devotion, expreſſed by genuflections and proſtrations. The

* The patriarch Nicon, whom the monks regard as a ſaint, and who filled the patriarchate in the time of Alexey Michailovitch, the father of Peter the great, wanted to raiſe his chair above the imperial throne; he not only claimed the right of ſitting in the ſenate by the ſide of the tzar, but he pretended that neither war nor peace could be made without his conſent. His authority, ſupported by his riches and his intrigues, by the clergy and by the people, held his maſter in a kind of ſubjection. He dared to excommunicate certain ſenators who oppoſed his exceſſes. In ſhort, Alexius, being ſenſible that he was not powerful enough to depoſe the patriarch by his ſole authority, was obliged to convoke a ſynod of all the biſhops. He was accuſed to them of having received money of the Poles; he was depoſed; he was confined for the reſt of his days in a cloiſter, and the prelates choſe another patriarch.

horſe on which he ſat was adorned with ſplendid trappings, and the richeſt capariſons; but diſguiſed, ſo as to bear ſomewhat of the reſemblance of an aſs. On each ſide of the patriarch went ſeveral biſhops on foot, clothed all in white, and holding thuribles in their hands. The pictures of ſaints, the chalice, books, bells, tapers, and other things uſed at maſs, as well as the reſt of the church ornaments, were borne by the ſuperior clergy, ſome of whom alſo carried the conſecrated banners of the ſaints. The way from the palace to the Creſent was all laid with ſcarlet cloth. At this place it was that the patriarch uſed firſt to take horſe. He found it tied to a pale, and ſent two of the biſhops to untie it, and bring it to him. As the proceſſion paſſed along, ſome of the people pulled off their upper garments, and ſpread them in the road; others, who had more piety, purchaſed cloths and ſilks, of ſeveral yards in length, on purpoſe; and the reſt, who had but little covering, and no money, contented themſelves with cutting branches and boughs from the birch-trees, and ſtrewed them in the way.

Thus they proceeded to the beforementioned church; where having ſtayed above half an hour, they returned in the ſame order, till they came to a ſort of ſtage or platform, where the patriarch preſented the tzar and the principal boyars with palm twigs; after which he took off the tzar's crown, and laid it in a ſilver diſh, and then gave him the diamond croſs to kiſs. This being done by the tzar with a very profound reverence, the patriarch lifted up the croſs, and waved it aloft on different ſides, firſt towards thoſe upon the platform, and then towards the people in general, who at that inſtant proſtrated themſelves flat upon the ground. The whole ceremony was concluded by ſinging a number of hymns; and the patriarch, as an acknowledgment to the ſovereign for leading his horſe, preſented him with a purſe of 200 rubles.

We have been thus explicit on this ceremony, that the reader may be the better able to judge of the magnificence

and authority of the patriarchs during their exiſtence. The above account was had from a gentleman whoſe anceſtor related it to his father, as one that he was preſent at in the patriarchate of Joaſaph.

Peter the great aboliſhed this dignity, and eſtabliſhed a perpetual ſynod for all deciſion in matters of religion. This ſynod is compoſed of a preſident, which the tzar ſeems to have intended to fill himſelf, as he never appointed any one to that dignity; a vice-preſident, who muſt be an archbiſhop (at preſent the archbiſhop of Moſco); ſix counſellors, who are biſhops; and of ſix archimandrites *, who have the quality of aſſeſſors.

Upon the preſent eſtabliſhment, there are in Ruſſia, three metropolitans, ſeven archbiſhops, and eighteen independent biſhops:

Moſco and Kaluga, metropolitan.
Novgorod and St. Peterſburg, metropolitan.
Kief, metropolitan †.
Pſcove and Riga, archbiſhop.
Tver and Kaſhin, archbiſhop.
Roſtof and Yaroſlavl, archbiſhop.
Mohilef, Mſtiſlavl, and Orſha, archbiſhop.
Kazan and Sviaſhſk, archbiſhop.
Aſtrakhan and Stavropol, archbiſhop.
Ekatarinoſlaf, Kherſon, and Taurida, archbiſhop ‡.
Archangel and Olonetz, biſhop.
Vologda and Velikoy Uſtiug, biſhop
Koſtroma and Galitch, biſhop.
Viatka and Velikaya Perme, biſhop
Tobolſk and Siberia, biſhop.

* Archimandrite, in the greek church, is much the ſame thing as biſhop in other chriſtian churches.

† This metropolitan has a coadjutor, who lives in the town of Sloutſk, beyond the frontier, and has the direction of the greek clergy reſiding in Poland.

‡ He is alſo vicar of the exarchy of Moldavia and Valakh'a.

Smolenſk and Dorogobuiſh, biſhop.
Tchernigof and Niejin, biſhop.
Novgorod-Sieverſkoy, and Glukhof, biſhop.
Bielgorod and Kurſk, biſhop.
Orel and Sievſk, biſhop.
Krutitzi, biſhop.
Kolomna and Tula, biſhop.
Riazane and Shatſk, biſhop.
Suſdal and Vladimir, biſhop.
Niſhney-Novgorod and Alatyr, biſhop.
Tambof and Penza, biſhop.
Voronetch, biſhop.
Irkutſk and Nertchinſk, biſhop.

The biſhops enjoy in their dioceſes the ſame rights and privileges as the archbiſhops. Theſe dioceſes, which are called eparchies, have each its peculiar conſiſtory, and for the moſt part a ſeminary for the inſtruction of eccleſiaſtics. The number of religious houſes may amount to 960, whereof thoſe for nuns compoſe a fourth part. The greek churches are reckoned at about 18,350, and the whole number of eccleſiaſtics is calculated at 67,900.

Several of the biſhops had formerly the honorary title of archbiſhops.

Before the erection of the patriarchate, the chief of the clergy was called metropolitan, and had his reſidence firſt at Kief, afterwards at Vladimir, and finally at Moſco. As the liſt of them all is not very long, we ſhall inſert it from the chronicle:

AT KIEF.

Michael Syrus, ſent by the patriarch of Conſtantinople to be head of the clergy, in - 988
Leontei, or *Leon* - - 992
Ivan I. - - - - 1008
Igor Nikephor - - - 1038
Theopentus - - - - 1048
Hilarion - - - - 1051
Igor II. - - - - 1071
Ivan II. - - - - 1076

The three laſt were Ruſſians, and were choſen by the clergy.

Ivan III. - - - - 1077

Ephraim

Ephraim - - - - 1078
He received the bull from pope Urban II. for the feaſt of the tranſlation of St. Nicholas.
Nikephor II. - - - 1103
Niketa - - - - - 1132
Michael - - - - 1142
Cyril - - - - - 1161
Clement - - - - - 1165
He was ordained in Ruſſia, on account of the revival of the ſchiſm of the Greeks.
Conſtantine - - - - 1176
Theodore - - - - 1182
Ivan IV. - - - - 1191
Nikephor III. - - - 1195
Matthias - - - - 1226
Cyril II. - - - - 1238
Joſeph of Nicæa - - 1248
Cyril III. - - - - 1252
Maxime - - - - 1283

AT VLADIMIR.

Peter, the wonder-worker - - - - 1308

AT MOSCO.

Theognoſtus - - - 1328
Alexius, the wonder-worker - - - - 1353
Zoſimus, or *Timen* - 1373
Cyril IV. - - - - 1376
Cyprian - - - - 1378
Photius - - - - - 1409
He was depoſed by a party of Ruſſians, on account of his zeal for the ſchiſm, in - 1415
Iſidore - - - - - 1438
Rejoins the latin church at the council of Florence, and is depoſed in Ruſſia, on his return, in - - 1442
The ſchiſm is thenceforward fixed and total.
Jonas, or *Jonathan* - 1448
Theodoſion - - - - 1460
Philip I. - - - - 1468
Hieronti - - - - 1473
Zoſimus II. - - - 1489
Simon - - - - - 1492
Varlaam - - - - 1511
Daniel - - - - 1522
Joſeph - - - - 1539
Macarion - - - - 1542
Athanaſius - - - 1564
Philip II. - - - - 1866
Cyril V. - - - - 1568
Anthony - - - - 1570
At his death, *Job* was appointed patriarch, in 1588: the ſucceſſion under which title has been given in the former part of this article.

No. II.

The ORDINANCE, *or* UKASE, *which rendered* PETER *ſo dear at firſt to the* RUSSIAN *Nobility, ran as follows:*

We Peter III. &c.

THE troubles and inconveniencies experienced by the wife ſovereign our late dear grandſire, Peter the great, of immortal memory, in his endeavours for the good of his country, and for procuring his ſubjects a competent knowledge as well in military diſcipline, at in civil and political affairs, are known to all Europe, and the greater part of the globe.

In the attainment of this end, he found it neceſſary to begin by convincing the ruſſian nobility, which is the firſt body of the ſtate, of the immenſe advantages poſſeſſed by the nations well verſed in the ſciences and the arts, over thoſe people who continue benighted in ignorance and ſloth. The ſtate of things at that time imperiouſly demanded that he ſhould oblige his nobility to enter the military ſervice and engage in civil functions; that he ſhould ſend them to travel into foreign countries, that they might get a tincture of the uſeful arts and ſciences, and therefore he eſtabliſhed in his own country ſchools and academies, that the ſeeds of theſe his ſalutary regulations might be cheriſhed in their growth, and more ſpeedily matured. The nobility had the leſs reaſon to complain of the conſtraint thus laid upon them, as, independently of the utility both public and private that naturally reſulted from it, it was their duty to concur with the wiſhes of an emperor to whom they were under ſo many obligations.

The execution of theſe projects ſeemed at firſt to be attended with the utmoſt difficulty. They were intolerable to the nobility, who ſaw themſelves obliged to abandon a ſoft and indolent life, to quit their dwellings, to ſerve in war and in peace, and to enrol their children for future ſervices. Several members of their body withdrew from the ſervice,

and

and were therefore deprived of their eſtates, which were confiſcated, and that for the beſt of reaſons. They rendered themſelves criminal towards their country, which they baſely deſerted.

Theſe excellent ordinances, though at the beginning inſeparable from certain methods of conſtraint, have ſerved as a model to all the ſucceſſors of Peter the great, and eſpecially to our dear aunt the empreſs Elizabeth Petrovna, of glorious memory; who, determined to follow the example of her father, encouraged, by a ſpecial protection, the advancement of the arts and ſciences. Of this we are now reaping the fruits; and every impartial man will agree that they are conſiderable. Manners have been improved; minds indifferent to the happineſs of the country have been rouſed from their fatal lethargy, and have habituated themſelves to reflect on the public welfare; zeal in the ſervice is augmented; generals, already valiant, are become experienced; intelligent miniſters; enlightened magiſtrates; in a word, patriotiſm, love and attachment to our perſon, activity in all offices and poſts, and every generous ſentiment, are now the happy lot of the ruſſian nation. — For all theſe reaſons, we have judged it to be no longer neceſſary to compel into the ſervice, as hitherto has been the practice, the nobility of our empire.

In conſideration whereof, in virtue of the full power to us granted by God, and of our imperial eſpecial grace, we grant to the ruſſian nobility, from this moment and for ever, in the name of all our ſucceſſors, permiſſion to take ſervice in our empire, as well as in all thoſe of the european powers in alliance with us; and to this end we have given the following ordinance as a fundamental law, &c.

[Then follow nine articles concerning the terms on which liberty of reſignation, of travelling abroad, of entering the ſervice, &c. may be aſked for and granted: concluding thus:]

Granting as we do, graciouſly and to perpetuity, to our nobility this franchiſe, making it a fundamental and unalterable law, we promiſe them equally on our imperial word, and in the moſt ſolemn manner, to obſerve the preſent ordinance ſacredly and irrevocably, in all its tenor, and to maintain the prerogatives therein expreſſed.—Our ſucceſſors on the throne ought not to alter it in any manner. The execution of our ſaid ordinance being the principal ſupport of the imperial throne, we hope that, from gratitude for this benefit, the ruſſian nobility will ſerve us faithfully and zealouſly; and that, inſtead of withdrawing from our ſervice, will enter it with eagerneſs, and that they will carefully educate their children.—We therefore command all our faithful ſubjects and true ſons of the country, to deſpiſe and avoid thoſe who have waſted their time in idleneſs, and who have not educated their children in the uſeful ſciences, as people who have never had the public good at heart, who ſhall have no acceſs to our court, nor be admitted to the public aſſemblies and the national feſtivities.

Given at St. Peterſburg, Feb. 18, 1762.

No. III,

PAPERS *relating to the re-eſtabliſhment of* PEACE.

DECLARATION *delivered by order of* PETER III. EMPEROR *of* RUSSIA, *to the* IMPERIAL, FRENCH, *and* SWEDISH *Miniſters reſiding at St.* PETERSBURG.

HIS imperial majeſty, who, upon his happy acceſſion to the throne of his anceſtors, looks upon it to be his principal duty to extend and augment the welfare of his ſubjects, ſees with extreme regret, that the flames of the preſent war, which has already continued for ſix years, and has been

been for a long time burthenſome to all the powers engaged in it, far from tending now to a concluſion, are, on the contrary, gathering freſh ſtrength, to the great misfortune of the ſeveral nations; and that mankind has ſo much the more to ſuffer from this ſcourge, as the fortune of arms, which has hitherto been ſubject to ſo many viciſſitudes, is equally expoſed to them for the future.

Wherefore his imperial majeſty, compaſſionating, through his humane diſpoſition, the effuſion of innocent blood, and being deſirous, on his part, of putting a ſtop to ſo great an evil, has judged it neceſſary to declare to the courts in alliance with Ruſſia, that, preferring to every other conſideration the firſt law which God preſcribes to ſovereigns, which is the preſervation of the people intruſted to them, he wiſhes to procure peace to his empire, to which it is ſo neceſſary, and of ſo great value; and, at the ſame time, to contribute, as much as may be in his power, to the re-eſtabliſhment of it throughout all Europe.

It is in order to this, that his imperial majeſty is ready to make a ſacrifice of the conqueſts made by the arms of Ruſſia in this war, in hopes that the allied courts will, on their part, equally prefer the reſtoration of peace and tranquillity to the advantages which they might expect from the war, and which they cannot obtain but by the continuance of the effuſion of human blood. And to this end his imperial majeſty, with the beſt intention, adviſes them to employ, on their ſide, all their power towards the accompliſhment of ſo great and ſo ſalutary a work.

St. Peterſburg, Feb. $\frac{12}{2}$, 1762.

The ANSWER *of the* EMPRESS-QUEEN *to the foregoing* DECLARATION.

THAT animated with the ſame zeal, and being of the ſame opinion, as his imperial majeſty, with regard to the ſalutary work of peace, and to the putting an end to the troubles and ravages that deſolate Germany, ſhe was ready

to

to concur with him therein; but, that, for that end, ſhe deſired his imperial majeſty to furniſh her with the means of beginning the negotiation, by imparting to her the propoſed terms of peace, which ſhe would, without loſs of time, communicate to her high allies, who, as well as herſelf, would be always ready to co-operate in a matter ſo much deſired, provided the terms were not inadmiſſible, and contained nothing injurious either to their honour, or her own.

The ANSWER *given by the* FRENCH COURT *to the aforeſaid* DECLARATION.

THE king maintaining with regret, theſe ſix years paſt, a twofold war for his own defence and that of his allies, has ſufficiently manifeſted, on every occaſion, how much he abhors the effuſion of human blood, and his conſtant deſire to put an end to ſo cruel a ſcourge. His perſonal diſintereſtedneſs, the ſteps which he thought could be taken conſiſtent with his dignity, and the ſacrifices which he did offer, in order to procure to Europe the deſirable bleſſing of peace, are ſure pledges of the humane ſentiments with which his heart abounds. But, at the ſame time, his paternal tenderneſs, which makes the happineſs and preſervation of his ſubjects a duty to him, cannot make him forget the firſt law that God preſcribes to ſovereigns, even that which conſtitutes the public ſafety, and fixes the condition of nations and empires, fidelity in executing treaties, and punctuality in performing engagements to their full extent, preferably to every other conſideration.

It is with this view, that after having given ſo great examples of conſtancy and generoſity, his majeſty declares that he is ready to liſten favourably to propoſitions for a ſolid and honourable peace, but will always act in the moſt perfect concert with his allies; that he will receive no counſels but ſuch as ſhall be dictated to him by honour and probity; that he ſhould think himſelf guilty of a defection, in lending a hand to ſecret negotiations; that he will not tarniſh

niſh his glory, and that of his kingdom, by abandoning his allies; and that he reſts aſſured each of them will, on their part, faithfully adhere to the ſame principle.

ANSWER *given by the* KING *of* POLAND, ELECTOR *of* SAXONY, *to the ſame* DECLARATION.

ALL my allies wiſh as much as myſelf, that the public tranquillity may be reſtored upon ſolid foundations. It is well known to all Europe, that I did not ſeek the war; but, on the contrary, employed every means to keep the calamities of it at a diſtance from my dominions. My love to mankind in general, and to my own ſubjects in particular, ought to engage me to facilitate, as much as in me lies, the reſtoration of peace, and to exerciſe all moderation as to my equitable pretenſions. I am of opinion, that a juſt and ſolid peace cannot be agreed on but by the congreſs propoſed and accepted by all the powers at war.

I place a full confidence in the friendſhip of your imperial majeſty, to whom the houſe of Saxony is bound by ſacred ties. It is not unknown to your majeſty, that Saxony hath been attacked merely on account of its connections with the ruſſian empire; and that the king of Pruſſia has taken occaſion to charge us with entering into defenſive treaties with that empire againſt him. We therefore flatter ourſelves with the hope, that ſo ancient and ſo equitable an ally of Saxony will not ſuffer our dominions, which are already reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs, as well by exorbitant contributions, as by the alienation of our revenues, and of the funds which were allotted for the payment of debts, to be completely ruined.

The whole world agrees, that we are entitled to an equitable reſtitution and reparation of the damage ſuſtained. But notwithſtanding all theſe conſiderations, and though all the powers at war ſhew themſelves inclined to contribute to the general pacification, yet Saxony remains threatened with irretrievable ruin.

We therefore hope that your majeſty's philanthropy and magnanimity will prevail with your majeſty to take care that, before

before all things, the electorate of Saxony be ſpeedily evacuated, in order thereby to put an end to the calamities which overwhelm it; this being the means of facilitating and accelerating the concluſion of a general peace.

No. IV.

MANIFESTO *of the* EMPRESS CATHARINE II. *which was cauſed to be printed and diſtributed about the city.*

By the grace of God, Catharine II. empreſs and autocratrix of all the Ruſſias, &c.

ALL true ſons of Ruſſia have clearly ſeen the great danger to which the whole ruſſian empire has actually been expoſed. Firſt, the foundations of our orthodox greek religion have been ſhaken, and its traditions expoſed to total deſtruction; ſo that there was abſolutely reaſon to fear, that the faith which has been eſtabliſhed in Ruſſia from the earlieſt times, would be entirely changed, and a foreign religion introduced. In the ſecond place, the glory which Ruſſia has acquired at the expence of ſo much blood, and which was carried to the higheſt pitch by her victorious arms, has been trampled under foot by the peace lately concluded with its moſt dangerous enemy. And laſtly, the domeſtic regulations, which are the baſis of the country's welfare, have been entirely overturned.

For theſe cauſes, overcome by the imminent perils with which our faithful ſubjects were threatened, and ſeeing how ſincere and expreſs their deſires on this matter were; we, putting our truſt in the Almighty and his divine juſtice, have aſcended the ſovereign imperial throne of all the Ruſſias, and have received a ſolemn oath of fidelity from all our loving ſubjects.

St. Peterſburg, June 28, 1762.

No. V.

MANIFESTO *of the* EMPRESS CATHARINE II. *giving an account of her motives for taking the reins of government into her hands.*

By the grace of God, we Catharine II. empreſs and ſovereign of all the Ruſſias, make known theſe preſents to all our loving ſubjects, eccleſiaſtical, military, and civil.

OUR acceſſion to the imperial throne of all the Ruſſias, is a manifeſt proof of this truth, that when ſincere hearts endeavour for good, the hand of God directs them. We never had either deſign or deſire to arrive at empire, through the means by which it hath pleaſed the Almighty, according to the inſcrutable views of his providence, to place us upon the throne of Ruſſia, our dear country.

On the death of our moſt auguſt and dear aunt, the empreſs Elizabeth Petrovna, of glorious memory, all true patriots (now our moſt faithful ſubjects) groaning for the loſs of ſo tender a mother, placed their only conſolation in obeying her nephew, whom ſhe had named for her ſucceſſor, that they might ſhew thereby, in ſome degree, their acknowledgments to their deceaſed ſovereign. And although they ſoon found out the weakneſs of his mind, unfit to rule ſo vaſt an empire, they imagined he would have known his own inſufficiency. Whereupon they ſought our maternal aſſiſtance in the affairs of government.

But when abſolute power falls to the lot of a monarch, who has not ſufficient virtue and humanity to place juſt bounds to it, it degenerates into a fruitful ſource of the moſt pernicious evils. This is the ſum, in ſhort, of what our native country has ſuffered. She ſtruggled to be delivered from a ſovereign who, being blindly given up to the moſt dangerous paſſions, thought of nothing but indulging them, without employing himſelf in the welfare of the empire committed to his care.

During

During the time of his being grand duke, and heir to the throne of Ruſſia, he often cauſed the moſt bitter griefs to his moſt auguſt aunt and ſovereign, (the truth of which is known to all our court,) however he might behave himſelf outwardly; being kept under her eye by her tenderneſs, he looked upon this mark of affection as an inſupportable yoke. He could not, however, diſguiſe himſelf ſo well, but it was perceived by all our faithful ſubjects, that he was poſſeſſed of the moſt audacious ingratitude, which he ſometimes ſhewed by perſonal contempt, ſometimes by an avowed hatred to the nation. At length, throwing aſide his cloak of hypocriſy, he thought it more fit to let looſe the bridle of his paſſions, than conduct himſelf as the heir of ſo great an empire. In a word, the leaſt traces of honour were not to be perceived in him. What were the conſequences of all this?

He was ſcarcely aſſured that the death of his aunt and benefactreſs approached, but he baniſhed her memory entirely from his mind; nay, even before ſhe had ſent forth her laſt groan. He only caſt an eye of contempt on the corpſe expoſed on the bier; and as the ceremony at that time required obliged him to approach it, he did it with his eyes manifeſtly replete with joy; even intimating his ingratitude by his words. We might add, that the obſequies would have been nothing equal to the dignity of ſo great and magnanimous a ſovereign, if our tender reſpect to her, cemented by the ties of blood, and the extreme affection between us, had not made us take that duty upon us.

He imagined that it was not to the Supreme Being, but only to chance, that he was indebted for abſolute power; and that he had it in his hands, not for the good of his ſubjects, but ſolely for his own ſatisfaction. Adding, therefore, licence to abſolute power, he made all the changes in the ſtate which the weakneſs of his mind could ſuggeſt, to the oppreſſion of the people.

Having effaced from his heart even the leaſt traces of the holy orthodox religion, (though he had been ſufficiently

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taught the principles thereof,) he began firſt by rooting out this true religion, eſtabliſhed ſo long in Ruſſia, by abſenting himſelf from the houſe of God, and of prayers, in ſo open a manner, that ſome of his ſubjects, excited by conſcience and honeſty, ſeeing his irreverence and contempt of the rites of the church, or rather the railleries he made of them, and ſcandalizing them by his behaviour, dared to make remonſtrances to him concerning it; who, for ſo doing, ſcarcely eſcaped the reſentment which they might have expected from ſo capricious a ſovereign, whoſe power was not limited by any human laws. He even intended to deſtroy the churches, and ordered ſome to be pulled down. He prohibited thoſe to have chapels in their own houſes, whoſe infirmities hindered them from viſiting the houſe of God. Thus he would have domineered over the faithful, in endeavouring to ſtifle in them the fear of God, which the holy ſcripture teaches us to be the beginning of wiſdom.

From this want of zeal towards God, and contempt of his laws, reſulted that ſcorn to the civil and natural laws of his kingdom; for having but an only ſon, which God had given us, the grand duke Paul Petrovitch, he would not, when he aſcended the throne of Ruſſia, declare him for his ſucceſſor; that being reſerved for his caprice, which tended to the detriment of us and of our ſon, having an inclination to overthrow the right that his aunt had veſted in him, and to make the government of our native country paſs into the hands of ſtrangers; in oppoſition to that maxim of natural right, according to which nobody can tranſmit to another more than he has received himſelf.

Although with great grief we ſaw this intention, we did not believe that we ourſelves, and our moſt dear ſon, ſhould have been expoſed to a perſecution ſo ſevere: but all perſons of probity having obſerved that the meaſures that he purſued, by their effects, manifeſted that they had a natural tendency to our ruin, and that of our dear ſucceſſor, their generous and pious hearts were juſtly alarmed: animated with zeal for the intereſt of their native country, and aſto-

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niſhed at our patience under theſe heavy perſecutions, they ſecretly informed us, that our life was in danger, in order to engage us to undertake the burthen of governing ſo large an empire.

While the whole nation were on the point of teſtifying their diſapprobation of his meaſures, he nevertheleſs continued to grieve them the more, by ſubverting all thoſe excellent arrangements eſtabliſhed by Peter the great, our moſt dear predeceſſor, of glorious memory, which that true father of his country accompliſhed by indefatigable pains and labour through the whole courſe of a reign of thirty years. The late Peter the third deſpiſed the laws of the empire, and her moſt reſpectable tribunals, to ſuch a degree that he could not even bear to hear them mentioned.

After one bloody war, he raſhly entered upon another, in which the intereſts of Ruſſia were no way concerned. He entertained an inſuperable averſion to the regiments of guards, which had faithfully ſerved his illuſtrious anceſtors, and made innovations in the army, which, far from exciting in their breaſts noble ſentiments of valour, only ſerved to diſcourage troops always ready to ſpill their beſt blood in the cauſe of their country. He changed entirely the face of the army; nay, it even ſeemed that, by dividing their habits into ſo many uniforms, and giving them ſo many different embelliſhments, for the moſt part fantaſtical to the greateſt degree, he intended to infuſe into them a ſuſpicion that they did not, in effect, belong to one maſter, and thereby provoke the ſoldiers, in the heat of battle, to ſlay one another; although experience demonſtrated that uniformity in dreſs had not a little contributed towards unanimity.

Inconſiderately and inceſſantly bent on pernicious regulations, he ſo alienated the hearts of his ſubjects, that there was ſcarcely a ſingle perſon to be found in the nation who did not openly expreſs his diſapprobation, and was even deſirous to take away his life; but the laws of God, which command

mand ſovereign princes to be reſpected, being deeply engraved on the hearts of our faithful ſubjects, reſtrained them, and engaged them to wait with patience, till the hand of God ſtruck the important blow, and by his fall delivered an oppreſſed people. Under thoſe circumſtances, now laid before the impartial eyes of the public, it was, in fact, impoſſible but our ſoul ſhould be troubled with thoſe impending woes which threatened our country, and with that perſecution which we, and our moſt dear ſon, the heir of the ruſſian throne, unjuſtly ſuffered; being almoſt entirely excluded from the imperial palace; in ſuch ſort, that all who had regard for us, or rather thoſe who had courage enough to ſpeak it (for we have not been able to find that there is one perſon who is not devoted to our intereſt) by expreſſing their ſentiments of reſpect due to us, as their empreſs, endangered their life, or at leaſt their fortune. In fine, the endeavours he made to ruin us, roſe to ſuch a pitch, that they broke out in public; and then charging us with being the cauſe of the murmurs, which his own imprudent meaſures occaſioned, his reſolution to take away our life openly appeared. But being informed of his purpoſe by ſome of our truſty ſubjects, who were determined to deliver their country, or periſh in the attempt, relying on the aid of the Almighty, we cheerfully expoſed our perſon to danger, with all that magnanimity which our native country had a right to expect in return for her affection to us. After having invoked the Moſt High, and repoſed our hope in the divine favour, we reſolved alſo either to ſacrifice our life for our country, or ſave it from bloodſhed and calamity. Scarcely had we taken this reſolution, by the direction of favouring Heaven, and declared our aſſent to the deputies of the empire, than the orders of the ſtate crowded to give us aſſurances of their fidelity and ſubmiſſion.

It now remained for us, in purſuance of the love we bore our faithful ſubjects, to prevent the conſequences which we apprehended, in caſe of the late emperor's inconſiderately placing his confidence in the imaginary power of the holſtein

troops, (for whoſe ſake he ſtayed at Oranienbaum, living in indolence, and abandoning the moſt preſſing exigencies of the ſtate,) and there occaſioning a carnage, to which our guards and other regiments were ready to expoſe themſelves, for the ſake of their native country, for ours, and that of our ſucceſſor. For theſe reaſons we looked upon it as a neceſſary duty towards our ſubjects (to which we were immediately called by the voice of God) to prevent ſo great a misfortune, by prompt and proper meaſures. Therefore, placing ourſelves at the head of the body-guards, regiments of artillery, and other troops in and about the imperial reſidence, we undertook to diſconcert an iniquitous deſign, of which we were as yet only informed in part.

But ſcarcely were we got out of the city, before we received two letters from the late emperor, one quick on the heels of the other. The firſt by our vice-chancellor the prince Gallitzin, entreating us to allow him to return to Holſtein, his native dominions; the other by major-general Michael Iſmailoff, by which he declared, that of his own proper motion he renounced the crown and throne of Ruſſia. In this laſt he begged of us to allow him to withdraw to Holſtein with Elizabeth Vorontzoff and Gudovitch. Theſe two laſt letters, ſtuffed with flattering expreſſions, came to our hands a few hours after he had given orders for putting us to death, as we have been ſince informed from the very perſons who were appointed to execute thoſe unnatural orders.

In the mean time, he had ſtill reſources left him, which were to arm againſt us his holſtein troops, and ſome ſmall detachments then about his perſon; he had alſo in his power ſeveral perſonages of diſtinction belonging to our court; as he might therefore have compelled us to agree to terms of accommodation ſtill more hurtful to our country, (for after having learned what great commotions there were among the people, he had detained them as hoſtages at his palace of Oranienbaum, and our humanity would never have conſented to their deſtruction, but, to ſave

their lives, we would have riſked ſeeing a part of thoſe dangers revived by an accommodation,) ſeveral perſons of high rank about our perſon requeſted us to ſend him a billet in return, propoſing to him, if his intentions were ſuch as he declared them to be, that he ſhould inſtantly ſend us a voluntary and formal renunciation of the throne, wrote by his own hand, for the public ſatisfaction. Major-general Iſmaïloff carried this propoſal, and the writing he now ſent back was as follows:

During the ſhort ſpace of my abſolute reign over the empire of Ruſſia, I became ſenſible that I was not able to ſupport ſo great a burden, and that my abilities were not equal to the taſk of governing ſo great an empire, either as a ſovereign, or in any other capacity whatever. I alſo foreſaw the great troubles which muſt have thence ariſen, and have been followed with the total ruin of the empire, and covered me with eternal diſgrace. After having therefore ſeriouſly reflected thereon, I declare, without conſtraint, and in the moſt ſolemn manner, to the ruſſian empire, and to the whole univerſe, that I for ever renounce the government of the ſaid empire, never deſiring hereafter to reign therein, either as an abſolute ſovereign, or under any other form of government; never wiſhing to aſpire thereto, or to uſe any means, of any ſort, for that purpoſe. As a pledge of which, I ſwear ſincerely, before God and all the world, to this preſent renunciation, written and ſigned this 29th of June 1762. O. S.

PETER.

It is thus, without ſpilling one drop of blood, that we have aſcended the ruſſian throne, by the aſſiſtance of God, and the approving ſuffrages of our dear country.—Humbly adoring the decrees of Divine Providence, we aſſure our faithful ſubjects, that we will not fail, by night and by day, to invoke the Moſt High to bleſs our ſceptre, and enable us to wield it for the maintenance of our orthodox religion, the ſecurity and defence of our dear native country, and the ſupport of juſtice; as well as to put an end to all miſeries, iniquities, and violences, by ſtrengthening and fortifying our heart for the public good. And as we ardently wiſh

to prove effectually how far we merit the reciprocal love of our people, for whose happiness we acknowledge our throne to be appointed, we solemnly promise, on our imperial word, to make such arrangements in the empire, that the government may be endued with an intrinsic force to support itself within limited and proper bounds; and each department of the state provided with wholesome laws and regulations, sufficient to maintain good order therein, at all times, and under all circumstances.

By which means we hope to establish hereafter the empire and our sovereign power, (however they may have been formerly weakened,) in such a manner as to comfort the discouraged hearts of all true patriots. We do not in the least doubt but that our loving subjects will, as well for the salvation of their own souls, as for the good of religion, inviolably observe the oath which they have sworn to us in the presence of the Almighty God; we thereupon assure them of our imperial favour.

Done at Petersburg, July 6, 1762.

No. VI.

DECLARATION *published by the* EMPRESS CATHARINE II. *upon recalling Count* BESTUCHEFF RIUMIN *from his banishment in* SIBERIA.

THE most ordinary understanding cannot be ignorant of the intimate obligation which all mankind contract towards God and towards each other, to transgress on no occasion whatever the demands of justice, and especially not to heap misfortunes and oppression on the head of the innocent.

Ere we mounted our imperial throne of Russia, we were well acquainted with the long and signal services rendered to this empire by the unfortunate but irreproachable count Bestucheff Riumin. Her public decrees of the 27th of February

February 1758, induced us to presume that the crime which had drawn upon him so severe an animadversion on the part of our dear aunt the empress Elizabeth, must have been very heinous; but the second manifesto, of the 6th of April 1759, which contained a vague detail of the crimes attributed to him, and whereof none were specified, obliged us to suspend our judgment, and led us to suspect that the indignation of that humane sovereign, and the vengeance to which she had been brought, were no more than the effects of calumny and intrigue; for the contents of this second manifesto related not to a malefactor, but to an oppressed man condemned beforehand.

From our natural humanity we have thought fit to soften the severity of the sentence, to pardon the guilty rather than to leave in oblivion the services which the said count Bestucheff rendered during so many years to our empire, and to let him (which would have been still more blamable) terminate his days in an ignominious exile.

As soon therefore as Providence placed the sceptre in our hand, submissive to the emotions of our sensibility, and to the voice of justice, we have recalled from his exile that old and faithful servant of our empire; but, not ignorant of our readiness to hearken to the dictates of justice, he, presenting himself before us, has humbly implored the permission to make his innocence appear to our eyes, a permission which we granted him with all our heart; and, after having specified the intrigues and the calumnies, which appeared to us authenticated and clearer than light, he excited in our heart the most lively compassion. We experienced at the same time a tender satisfaction, on perceiving that the liberty to which we restored him was in perfect agreement with that love of order and justice by which we commenced our reign.

His example has convinced us, that the more weighty the accusation, the more severe ought the examination to be, as without this precaution sentence of condemnation may fall upon an innocent person. Granting that our very dear aunt

the empreſs Elizabeth had, to our knowledge and to that of the whole world, great intelligence and ſagacity; nevertheleſs, as no one is infallible . . . . . the affair of count Beſtſtucheff took a turn highly diſadvantageous to the honour of our dear aunt. . . . .

For theſe reaſons, deſirous of reſtoring the luſtre of her name, and the virtues which guided her reign, and to prove how much we cheriſh her memory, and to fulfil with exactitude the duty of every chriſtian, as becomes a mother of the country, we have thought ourſelves obliged to declare ſolemnly that the ſaid count Beſtucheff Riumin was deſerving, in the higheſt degree, of the confidence of our deceaſed aunt, &c. . . . . .

Given at St. Peterſburg, this 13th of Auguſt 1762.

No. VII.

TRANSLATION *of a* LETTER *from the* EMPRESS *of* RUSSIA, *to* M. D'ALEMBERT, *at* PARIS, *whom ſhe had invited into* RUSSIA *to educate her* SON.

M. D'ALEMBERT,

I HAVE juſt received the anſwer you wrote to Mr. Odart, in which you refuſe to tranſplant yourſelf to aſſiſt in the education of my ſon. I eaſily conceive that it coſts a philoſopher, like you, nothing to deſpiſe what the world calls grandeur and honour: theſe, in your eyes, are very little; and I can readily agree with you that they are ſo. Conſidering things in this light, there would be nothing great in the behaviour of queen Chriſtina [of Sweden] which has been ſo highly extolled; and often cenſured with more juſtice. But to be born and called to contribute to the happineſs and even the inſtruction of a whole nation, and yet decline it, is, in my opinion, refuſing to do that good which you wiſh to do.

Your

Your philoſophy is founded in a love to mankind: permit me then to tell you, that to refuſe to ſerve mankind, whilſt it is in your power, is to miſs your aim. I know you too well to be a good man, to aſcribe your refuſal to vanity. I know that the ſole motive of it is the love of eaſe, and leiſure to cultivate letters and the friendſhip of thoſe you eſteem. But what is there in this objection? Come, with all your friends; I promiſe both them and you, every conveniency and advantage that depends upon me; and perhaps you will find more liberty and eaſe here, than in your native country. You refuſed the invitation of the king of Pruſſia, notwithſtanding your obligations to him; but that prince has no ſon. I own to you, that I have the education of my ſon ſo much at heart, and I think you ſo neceſſary to it, that perhaps I preſs you with too much earneſtneſs. Excuſe my indiſcretion for the ſake of the occaſion of it; and be aſſured that it is my eſteem for you that makes me ſo urgent.

Moſco, CATHARINE.

Nov. 13, 1762.

In this whole letter I have argued only from what I have found in your writings; you would not contradict yourſelf.

No. VIII.

The DECLARATION *which the* EMPRESS *cauſed to be delivered to the Foreign Miniſters.*

THE ſtyle of IMPERIAL, which Peter the great, of glorious memory, aſſumed, or rather revived for himſelf and his ſucceſſors, has long appertained as well to the ſovereigns as to the crown and to the monarchy of all the Ruſſias.

Her imperial majeſty regards as contrary to the ſubſtance of that principle, all renewal of the reverſals which have been given ſucceſſively to every potentate on its acknowledgment of that title. In conſequence whereof, her majeſty

has juſt given orders to her miniſter to make a general declaration, that the ſtyle of IMPERIAL being by its very nature once attached to the crown and to the monarchy of Ruſſia, and perpetuated for a long courſe of years and ſucceſſions, neither herſelf, nor her ſucceſſors for ever, can any more renew the ſaid reverſals, and ſtill leſs preſerve any correſpondence with the powers who ſhall refuſe to acknowledge the imperial title in the perſons of the ſovereigns of all the Ruſſias, as well as in their crown and their monarchy; and to the end that this declaration may terminate for ever all difficulties in a matter which ought not to admit of any, her majeſty, in conformity to the declaration of Peter the great, declares that the ſtyle of IMPERIAL ſhall communicate no alteration to the ceremonial in uſe among courts, which ſhall remain always on the ſame footing.

(Signed) VORONTZOFF.
Moſco, Nov. 21, 1762. B. A. GALLITZIN.

[The ambaſſador Breteuil having tranſmitted this declaration to Verſailles, Lewis XV. wrote the following anſwer, which was delivered to the miniſters of Catharine:]

Titles are of themſelves nothing. They poſſeſs no other reality than inaſmuch as they are acknowledged, and their value depends on the idea attached to them, and the extent given to them by thoſe who have the right to admit them, to reject them, or to limit them.—Sovereigns themſelves cannot attribute to themſelves titles at their own choice; the conſent of their ſubjects is not ſufficient; that of the other powers is neceſſary; and every crown, at liberty to acknowledge or to refuſe a new title, may alſo adopt it with ſuch modifications and conditions as are agreeable to it.

Agreeably to this principle, Peter I. and his ſucceſſors to the empreſs Elizabeth, have never been known in France but under the denomination of TZAR.—That princeſs is the firſt of all the ſovereigns of Ruſſia to whom the king granted the ſtyle IMPERIAL; but it was under the expreſs condition that this title ſhould communicate no prejudice to the ceremonial in uſe between the two courts.

The

The empreſs Elizabeth ſubſcribed, without ſcruple, this condition, and explained herſelf on that head moſt circumſtantially in the reverſal framed by her order, and ſigned in the month of March 1745, by the counts Beſtucheff and Vorontzoff.—The daughter of Peter I. therein teſtifies her entire ſatisfaction. She therein acknowledges, that it is *from friendſhip, and from a truly peculiar attention of the king to her, that his majeſty had condeſcended to the acknowledgment of the ſtyle of* imperial, *which other powers had already conceded;* and ſhe confeſſes that *this complaiſance of the king of France is highly agreeable to her.*

The king, actuated by the ſame ſentiments for the empreſs Catharine II. makes no heſitation in granting to her at preſent the ſtyle of IMPERIAL, and to acknowledge it in her, as attached to the throne of Ruſſia: but his majeſty means that this acknowledgment ſhould be made under the ſame conditions as under the two foregoing reigns; and he declares, that, if hereafter any one of the ſucceſſors of the empreſs Catharine, unmindful of this ſolemn and reciprocal engagement, ſhall think proper to form any pretenſion contrary to the uſage uniformly followed between the two courts, concerning rank and precedence; from that moment, the crown of France, by an equitable reciprocity, ſhall reſume its antient ſtyle, and ceaſe to give the ſtyle of IMPERIAL to that of Ruſſia.

This declaration, tending to prevent all ſubject of difficulty for the future, is a proof of the friendſhip of the king for the empreſs, and of the ſincere deſire he has to eſtabliſh between the two courts a ſolid and unalterable union.

(Signed) PRASLIN.

Done at Verſailles, Jan. 18, 1763.

No. IX.

SUBSTANCE *of a* MEMORIAL *delivered on the 16th of July by the* CHANCELLOR *of* RUSSIA *to the* POLISH RESIDENT *at* PETERSBURG.

IN this memorial her imperial majeſty firſt ſets forth her great love of peace, and how careful ſhe has been to preſerve it; and then proceeds thus: "Filled with theſe ſentiments, "it is with regret, that the empreſs ſees his Poliſh majeſty "follow different maxims with regard to her, and make no "return to her friendly proceedings but by proceedings "directly oppoſite.

"In the firſt place, in the affair of Courland, her imperial "majeſty, attentive to every thing that concerned the dignity "of the king of Poland, has not ceaſed to claim his juſtice, "in which ſhe always placed the greateſt confidence.

"Secondly, ſhe has not only paid all poſſible regard to the "repreſentations made to her, touching the damage which "the Poles might have ſuffered by the paſſage of the ruſſian "troops; but even at this moment ſhe waits only for the "naming of commiſſaries by the republic, to ſettle and give "orders for indemnification.

"Her imperial majeſty is not content with convincing his "Poliſh majeſty of her friendſhip in thoſe two general "objects which regard the reſpective eſtates; ſhe has no leſs "at heart the giving proofs of her perſonal regard for his "majeſty and his family. She has already intereſted herſelf, "and will ſtill intereſt herſelf at every favourable opportu- "nity, to procure a proper eſtabliſhment for his royal high- "neſs the king's ſon, prince Charles: nevertheleſs, his "majeſty the king of Poland has hitherto refuſed to liſten "to any overtures for an accommodation, or for making "ſatisfaction for the many complaints of the empreſs: not "to mention the treaty of perpetual peace eſtabliſhed "between Ruſſia and the republic of Poland, and which has

"been

" been infringed by Poland, in many points; her imperial " majeſty complains, firſt, that, notwithſtanding the requi- " ſition made by her ambaſſador, the king has not given her " ſatisfaction with regard to the irregular conduct of the " four miniſters, who ſigned a memorial highly offenſive " to the court of Ruſſia and its ſovereign. Secondly, that " the king has not yet acknowledged the lawful duke " of Courland. Thirdly, that the laws and liberties of " Poland are oppreſſed, as well as the friends of Ruſſia, who " are kept from all employments, and from all favours, " becauſe they ſupport liberty and the laws; and who, on " that very account, merit the protection of Ruſſia; who, " being the guarantee of the rights of the republic, muſt not " ſuffer any change in its conſtitution, but muſt be its firmeſt " ſupport," &c.

No. X.

MANIFESTO *publiſhed by the Court of* PETERSBURG, *on occaſion of the Death of Prince* IVAN.

By the grace of God, we Catharine the Second, empreſs and ſovereign of all the Ruſſias, &c. to all whom theſe preſents may concern.

WHEN, by the divine will, and in compliance with the ardent and unanimous deſires of our faithful ſubjects, we aſcended the throne of Ruſſia, we were not ignorant that Ivan, ſon of Anthony, prince of Brunſwic-Wolfenbuttle, and the princeſs Anne of Mecklenburgh, was ſtill alive. This prince, as is well known, was, immediately after his birth, unlawfully declared heir to the imperial crown of Ruſſia; but, by the decrees of Providence, he was ſoon after irrevocably excluded from that high dignity, and the ſceptre placed in the hands of the lawful heireſs, Elizabeth, daughter

daughter of Peter the great, our beloved aunt of glorious memory. After we had aſcended the throne, and offered up to heaven our juſt thankſgivings, the firſt object that employed our thoughts, in conſequence of that humanity that is natural to us, was the unhappy ſituation of that prince, who was dethroned by the Divine Providence, and had been unfortunate ever ſince his birth; and we formed the reſolution of alleviating his misfortunes, as far as was poſſible. We immediately made a viſit to him, in order to judge of his underſtanding and talents, and, in conſequence thereof, to procure him an agreeable and quiet ſituation, ſuitable to his character and the education he had received. But how great was our ſurpriſe, when, beſides a defect in his utterance, that was uneaſy to himſelf, and rendered his diſcourſe almoſt unintelligible to others, we obſerved in him a total privation of ſenſe and reaſon! Thoſe who accompanied us during this interview ſaw how much our heart ſuffered at the view of an object ſo fitted to excite compaſſion; they were alſo convinced that the only meaſure we could take to ſuccour the unfortunate prince, was to leave him where we found him, and to procure him all the comforts and conveniences that his ſituation would admit of. We accordingly gave our orders for this purpoſe, though the ſtate he was in prevented his perceiving the marks of our humanity, or being ſenſible of our attention and care; for he knew nobody, could not diſtinguiſh between good and evil, nor did he know the uſe that might be made of reading, to paſs the time with leſs wearineſs and diſguſt: on the contrary, he ſought after pleaſure in objects that diſcovered, with ſufficient evidence, the diſorder of his imagination.

To prevent, therefore, ill-intentioned perſons from giving him any trouble, or from making uſe of his name or orders to diſturb the public tranquillity, we gave him a guard, and placed about his perſon two officers of the garriſon, in whoſe fidelity and integrity we could confide. Theſe officers were captain Vlaſſieff and lieutenant Tſchekin, who, by their long military ſervices, which had conſiderably impaired

their

their health, deſerved a ſuitable recompence, and a ſtation in which they might paſs quietly the reſt of their days; they were accordingly charged with the care of the prince, and were ſtrictly enjoined to let none approach him. Yet all theſe precautions were not ſufficient to prevent an abandoned profligate from committing at Schluſſelburg, with unparalleled wickedneſs, and at the riſk of his own life, an outrage, whoſe enormity inſpires horror. A ſecond lieutenant of the regiment of Smolenſko, a native of the Ukraine, named Baſil Mirovitch, grandſon of the firſt rebel that followed Mazeppa, and a man in whom the perjury of his anceſtors ſeems to have been infuſed with their blood; this profligate, having paſſed his days in debauchery and diſſipation, and being thus deprived of all honourable means of advancing his fortune; having alſo loſt ſight of what he owed to the law of God, and of the oath of allegiance he had taken to us; and knowing prince Ivan only by name, without any knowledge either of his bodily or mental qualities; took it into his head to make uſe of this prince to advance his fortune at all events, without being reſtrained by the conſideration of the bloody ſcene that ſuch an attempt was adapted to occaſion. In order to execute this deteſtable, dangerous, and deſperate project, he deſired, during our abſence in Livonia, to be upon guard, out of his turn, in the fortreſs of Schluſſelburg, where the guard is relieved every eight days; and the 15th of laſt month, about two o'clock in the morning, he all of a ſudden called up the main guard, formed it into a line, and ordered the ſoldiers to load with ball. Berednikoff, governor of the fortreſs, having heard a noiſe, came out of his apartment, and aſked Mirovitch the reaſon of this diſturbance, but received no other anſwer from this rebel than a blow on the head with the butt-end of his muſket. Mirovitch, having wounded and arreſted the governor, led on his troops with fury, and attacked with fire-arms the handful of ſoldiers that guarded prince Ivan. But he was ſo warmly received

by

by thoſe ſoldiers under the command of the two officers mentioned above, that he was obliged to retire. By a particular direction of that providence that watches over the life of man, there was that night a thick miſt, which, together with the inward form and ſituation of the fortreſs, had this happy effect, that not one individual was either killed or wounded. The bad ſucceſs of this firſt attempt could not engage this enemy of the public peace to deſiſt from his rebellious purpoſe. Driven on by rage and deſpair, he ordered a piece of cannon to be brought from one of the baſtions, which order was immediately executed. Captain Vlaſſieff and his lieutenant Tſchekin, ſeeing that it was impoſſible to reſiſt ſuch a ſuperior force, and conſidering the unhappy conſequences that muſt enſue from the deliverance of a perſon that was committed to their care, and the effuſion of innocent blood that muſt follow from the tumults it was adapted to excite, took, after deliberating together, the only ſtep that they thought proper to maintain the public tranquillity, which was to cut ſhort the days of the unfortunate prince. Conſidering alſo, that if they ſet at liberty a priſoner, whom this deſperate party endeavoured to force with ſuch violence out of their hands, they ran the riſk of being puniſhed according to the rigour of the laws, they aſſaſſinated the prince, without being reſtrained by the apprehenſion of being put to death by a villain reduced to deſpair. The monſter (Mirovitch), ſeeing the dead body of the prince, was ſo confounded and ſtruck at a ſight he ſo little expected, that he acknowledged, that very inſtant, his temerity and his guilt, and diſcovered his repentance to the troop which about an hour before he had ſeduced from their duty, and rendered the accomplices of his crime.

Then it was, that the two officers, who had nipped this rebellion in the bud, joined with the governor of the fortreſs, in ſecuring the perſon of this rebel, and in bringing back the ſoldiers to their duty. They alſo ſent to our privy-counſellor Panin, under whoſe orders they acted, a relation

of

of this event, which, though unhappy, has nevertheleſs, under the protection of Heaven, been the occaſion of preventing ſtill greater calamities. This ſenator diſpatched immediately lieutenant-colonel Kaſchkin, with ſufficient inſtructions to maintain the public tranquillity, to prevent diſorder on the ſpot, (*i. e.* where the aſſaſſination was committed,) and ſent us, at the ſame time, a courier with a circumſtantial account of the whole affair. In conſequence of this, we ordered lieutenant-general Veymarn, of the diviſion of St. Peterſburg, to take the neceſſary informations upon the ſpot; this he has done, and has ſent us accordingly the interrogatories, depoſitions, and the confeſſion of the villain himſelf, who has acknowledged his guilt.

Senſible of the enormity of his crime, and of its conſequences with regard to the peace of our country, we have referred the whole affair to the conſideration of our ſenate, which we have ordered, jointly with the ſynod, to invite the three firſt claſſes, and the preſidents of all the colleges, to hear the verbal relation of general Veymarn, who has taken the proper informations; to pronounce ſentence in conſequence thereof; and, after that ſentence has been ſigned, to preſent it to us for our confirmation of the ſame.

The original is ſigned by her imperial majeſty's own hand. CATHARINE.

No. XI.

ALPHABETICAL LIST *of the* TOWNS *of the* RUSSIAN EMPIRE, *ſhewing in what Government they lie, and how many Verſts diſtant from the Reſidence, from the Metropolis, and from their reſpective Government Towns, as far as could be collected from the Accounts delivered to* CATHARINE II.

The names of the government towns are diſtinguiſhed by *italics*.

Towns.	In what government.	Verſts from St. Peterſb.	Verſts from Moſco.	Verſts from government. town.
Aktyrka	Kharkof	1453	723	106
Aklanſk	Irkutſk	10497	9767	4674
Alapayefsk	Perme			510
Alatyr	Simbirſk	1358	618	133
Alexandriya	Ekatarinoſlavl			184
Alexandrof	Vladimir	824	101	117
Alexandrofsk	Caucaſus			150
Alexin	Tula	860	130	60
Alexopol	Ekatarinoſlavl			115
Archangel		1143	1236	
Ardatof	Niſhnè-Novgorod			150
Ardatof on Alatyr	Simbirſk	1337	597	148
Arenſberg	Riga	626	1356	319
Arſamas	Niſhnè-Novgorod	1120	380	109
Arſk	Kaſan	1463	735	55
Aſof	Ekatarinoſlavl	1998	1268	625
Aſtrakhan	Caucaſus	2142	1412	630
Atkarſk	Saratof	1630	902	79
Atſchinſk	Tobolſk	4694	3964	1809
Babinovitſchy	Mohilef			111
Bachmut	Ekatarinoſlavl	1490	760	368
Balachna	Niſhnè-Novgorod	1145	415	32
Balaſchof	Saratof			244
Baltic port	Reval	394	1122	44
Barguſinſk	Irkutſk	6345	5617	524
Belebey	Uſa			139
Bereſin	Tſchernigof			36

Bereſof

Towns.	In what government.	Verſts from St. Peterſb.	Verſts from Moſco.	Verſts from government-town.
Bereſof	Tobolſk	3814	3084	929
Bielef	Tula	973	239	120
Bielgorod	Kurſk	1356	626	132
Bielitza	Mohilef			194
Bieloy	Smolenſk	709	410	143
Bielopolye	Kharkof	1585	857	217
Bieloſerſk	Novgorod	569	540	532
Bielovodſk	Voronetſh	1545	803	307
Biezveſk	Tver	625	287	121
Biiſk	Kolhyvan			260
Biryutſch	Voronetſch	1357	617	150
Biriſk	Uſa	1927	1197	105
Bobrof	Voronetſch	1265	535	87
Bogatye	Kurſk	1330	600	106
Bogodukhof	Kharkof	1471	741	60
Bogoroditzk	Tula	957	227	45
Bogorodſk	Moſco			50
Bogutſchar	Voronetſch	1475	735	238
Bolkhof	Orel	1020	290	54
Boriſoglyebſk	Yaroſlavl	*	†	32
Boriſoglyebſk on the Vorona	Tambof	1359	629	152
Borovitſchi	Novgorod	360	454	183
Borofsk	Kaluga	893	163	78
Borſna	Tchernigof	1396	666	90
Brianſk	Orel	1077	347	138
Bronnitzy	Moſco	781	51	
Bugulma	Uſa	1687	957	220
Buguruſlan	Uſa			279
Bui	Koſtroma	932	396	130
Buinſk	Simbirſk	1462	722	70
Buſuluk	Uſa			375
Cronſtadt	St. Peterſburg	47	777	
Dalmatof	Perme			510
Danilof	Yaroſlavl	810	316	63
Dankof	Riazane	950	220	158
Deſchkin	Orel	1060	330	58
St. Dmitri fort	Ekatarinoſlavl	1968	1238	595
Dmitriyef	Kurſk	1241	511	99

* By the way of Uglitſch 814, by the way of Poſchek 797.

† By the way of Yaroſlavl and Roſt. 273, by the way of Poſchek 265.

Towns.	In what government.	Verſts from St. Peterſb.	Verſts from Moſco.	Verſts from government-town.
Dmitrof	Moſco	702	62	
Dmitrofsk	Orel	1181	451	84
Dnieprofsk	Tavrida			300
Donetzk	Ekatarinoſlavl			443
Dorogobuſh	Smolenſk	793	298	86
Doroninſk	Irkutſk	6644	5964	871
Dorpat	Riga	319	1049	230
Driezin	Polotſk	691	697	68
Dukhofshina	Smolenſk	727	363	51
Dynaburg	Polotſk	794	800	173
Ekatarinenburg	Perme	2308	1578	358
Ekatarinoſlaf		1596	868	
Elizabethgrad	Ekatarinoſlavl	1759	1411	211
Epiphan	Tula	962	232	50
Eupatoria	Tavrida			60
Fateſch	Kurſk	1193	463	46
Fellin	Riga			241
Frederikſham	Vyburg	326	1056	186
Gadyatch	Tchernigof	*	†	254
Galitch	Koſtroma	919	396	117
Gdoff	St. Peterſburg	216	871	
Georgiefsk	Caucaſus	2528	1800	60
Glaſof	Viatka			214
Glinſk	Tchernigof			210
Glukhof	Novgorod Sieverſkoi	1280	550	
Goltva	Kief			283
Gordatof	Niſhnè-Novgorod			70
Gorodetz	Polotzk	698	553	144
Gorodiſchtſche	Penſa			42
Gorodnia	Tchernigof			50
Gorokovetch	Vladimir	1039	332	157
Gradiſchtſche	Ekatarinoſlavl			136
Griaſovetch	Vologda	709	384	42
Giaſk	Smolenſk	581	160	222
Habſal	Reval	456	1126	95
Inſara	Penſa	1290	560	89
Irbit	Perme	2683	1953	572
Irkutſk		5823	5093	
Iſchim	Tobolſk	2935	2205	344

* *Viâ* Mtzenſk and Kurſk — — 1450 720

† *Viâ* Smolenſk and Baturin — — 1712 982

Iſchiginſk

Towns.	In what government.	Verſts from St. Peterſb.	Verſts from Moſco.	Verſts from government town.
Iſchiginſk	Irkutſk	10307	9577	4484
Iſium	Kharkof	1550	820	111
Kadnikof	Vologda	695	468	42
Kadyi.	Koſtroma	950	427	147
Kaigorod	Viatka	1972	1242	246
Kainſk	Tobolſk	3788	3058	903
Kaliaſin	Tver	734	294	168
Kalitva	Voronetch	1421	681	193
Kaluga		890	160	
Kamyſchin	Saratof	1806	1076	174
Kamyſchlof	Perme			483
Kanadyei	Simbirſk	1537	797	131
Karatſchef	Orel	1102	372	84
Kargopol	Olonetz	618	1078	342
Karſun	Simbirſk	1423	683	91
Kaſan		1465	735	
Kaſchin	Tver	716	312	150
Kaſimof	Riazane	1010	280	140
Kem	Olonetz	885	1479	455
Kerenſk	Penſa	1199	460	135
Kexholm	Viborg	146	876	180
Kharkof		1421	680	
Kherſon	Ekatarinoſlavl	*	†	290
Kholm	Pleſkof	336	592	268
Khoperſk	Saratof	1419	689	
Khorol	Kief			223
Khotmyſhſk	Kharkof	1455	725	71
Khvalynſk	Saratof			197
Kief		1582	852	
Kinburn fort	Tavrida	2091	1361	
Kineſchma	Koſtroma	885	347	83
Kirenſk	Irkutſk	6768	6038	945
Kirilof	Novgorod	590	495	580
Kirſanof	Tambof	1295	565	88
Kirſhatſh	Vladimir	850	123	115
Kiſliar	Caucaſus	2642	1912	
Klimovitſchy	Mohilef			128
Klin	Moſco	648	82	
Kniaginin	Niſhnè-Novgorod			96

* *Viâ* Mtzenſk, Kurſk, and Krementſhuk — 1903 1174

† *Viâ* Smolenſk, Baturin, Polt. and Krementſhuk 2141 1411

Towns.	In what government.	Verſts from St. Peterſb.	Verſts from Moſco.	Verſts from government-town.
Kola	Archangel	1379	2109	1021
Kolmogory	Archangel			
Kologrif	Koſtroma	968	534	254
Kolomna	Moſco	830	100	
Kolyvan		5154	4424	
Konotop	Novgorod Sieverſkoi	1345	615	115
Konſtantinograd	Ekatarinoſlavl	973	864	104
Kopyſs	Mohilef			49
Korop	Novgorod Sieverſkoi			70
Korotoyak	Voronetch	1313	573	80
Korotſcha	Kurſk	1359	629	135
Kortſcheva	Tver			82
Koſchira	Tula	900	170	80
Koſeletz	Kief	1510	780	72
Koſelſk	Kaluga	940	210	57
Koſlof	Tambof	1155	425	72
Koſtroma		802	280	
Kotelnitſch	Viatka	1811	1081	95
Kotiakof	Simbirſk	1404	664	110
Kovrof	Vladimir	964	237	62
Kraſnoborſk	Vologda	1100	1006	580
Kraſnoy	Smolenſk	823	430	46
Kraſnoy-Kholm	Tver	586	326	161
Kraſnoy-Yar	Aſtrakhan	2112	1382	30
Kraſnoyarſk	Kolyvan	4839	4109	1981
Kraſnokutſk	Kharkof	1508	767	86
Kraſnoſlobodſk	Penſa	1564	834	173
Kraſnoufimſk	Perme	2077	1347	188
Kreſtzy	Novgorod	279	451	93
Krolevetch	Novgorod Sieverſkoi	1319	589	64
Kromy	Orel	1133	403	36
Kropivna	Tula	952	222	40
Kungur	Perme	2051	1323	91
Kupenſk	Voronetch	1663	923	283
Kurgan	Tobolſk	2875	2145	414
Kurmyſch	Simbirſk	1237	500	257
Kurſk		1224	494	
Kuſmodemyanſk	Kazan	1294	564	181
Kuſnetzk	Kolyvan	4737	4007	
Kuſnetzk	Saratof			197
Ladoga	St. Peterſburg	150	744	
Laiſchef	Kazan			51

Laiſk

Towns.	In what government.	Verſts from St. Peterſh.	Verſts from Moſco.	Verſts from government-town.
Lalſk	Vologda	1110	981	555
Lebedyan	Tambof	1104	374	177
Lebedin	Kharkof	1540	810	147
Levkopol	Tavrida			80
Lgof	Kurſk	1295	565	71
Lichvin	Kaluga	940	210	45
Lipetzk	Tambof	1162	432	149
Linbim	Yaroſlavl	826	354	101
Liutzin	Polotzk	593	758	164
Livenſk	Voronetch	1403	654	175
Livny	Orel	1090	360	128
Lochvitza	Tſchernigof	1462	732	210
Lodeinoë Pole	Olonetz	276	809	215
Lubney	Kief	1505	775	190
Luch	Koſtroma	913	347	129
Luga	St. Peterſburg	135	614	
Lukoyanof	Niſhnè-Novgorod			158
Makarief	Niſhnè-Novgorod			80
Makarief	Koſtroma	98	474	195
Malmyſh	Viatka			249
Maloarchangel	Orel	1143	413	70
Maloyaroſlavl	Kaluga	847	113	52
Mamadyſh	Kazan			146
Mariupol	Ekatarinoſlavl			321
Medynſk	Kaluga	869	135	57
Melenki	Vladimir	1040	313	138
Melitopol	Tavrida			220
Menſelinſk	Ufa	1769	1035	236
Meſchtſchofsk	Kaluga	980	250	69
Meſen	Archangel	1445	1575	511
Mglinſk	Novgorod Sieverſkoi			141
Michailof	Riazane	910	180	50
Mirgorod	Kief	1784	1054	233
Miropolie	Kharkof	1515	785	133
Mohilef		751	534	
Mokſchan	Penſa	1368	638	37
Mologa	Yaroſlavl	740	260	110
Morſchanſk	Tambof	1156	426	88
Moſalſk	Kaluga	940	210	77
Moſdok	Caucaſus		243	34
Moſhaiſk	Moſco	816	99	
MOSCO	*Metropolis*	728		

Towns.	In what government.	Verſts from St. Peterſb.	Verſts from Moſco.	Verſts from government-town.
Miſtiſlavl	Mohilef	914	501	94
Murom	Vladimir	1022	295	120
Myſchkin	Yaroſlavl	763	209	92
Mzenſk	Orel	1044	314	53
Nakhitſchevan	Ekatarinoſlavl			
Nagaibak	Orenburg	1733	1003	540
Naroftſchat	Penſa	1356	626	125
Narva	St. Peterſburg	145	875	
Narym	Tobolſk	4644	3934	1759
Nedrigailof	Kharkof	1574	844	195
Nerechta	Koſtroma	846	236	43
Nerſchinſk	Irkutſk	6784	6054	961
Neyſhlott	Viburg	390	1120	250
Nevel	Polotzk	1338	618	99
Nieſhin	Tſchernigof	1444	714	74
Nikitſk	Moſco		31	
Nikolſk	Vologda	1164	1061	637
Niſhnaia Dievitza	Voronetch	1284	544	57
Niſhnè Kamtſhatka	Irkutſk	11699	10969	5876
Niſhnè Lomof	Penſa	1339	609	96
Niſhnè Novgorod		1120	390	
Niſhneudinſk	Irkutſk	5348	4618	475
Nolin	Viatka			112
Novgorod		186	544	
Novgorod Sieverſkoi		*	†	
Novomieſto	Novgorod Sieverſkoi			144
Novomirgorod	Ekatarinoſlavl			288
Novomoſkofsk	Ekatarinoſlavl			18
Novorſhef	Pleſkof	478	853	132
Novoſil	Tula	1292	458	176
Oboian	Kurſk	1283	553	59
Obvinſk	Perme			50
Odoyef	Tula	940	210	70
Okhanſk	Perme			67
Okhotſk	Irkutſk	9259	8529	3436
Olekminſk	Irkutſk	7754	7024	1931
Olenſk	Irkutſk	9309	8579	3496
Olonetz	Olonetz	280	874	150
Omſk	Tobolſk	3286	2556	693
* By Star, and Smolenſk —		1150	540	
† By Tula and Moſco — —		1328	598	

Onega

Towns.	In what government.	Verſts from St. Peterſb.	Verſts from Moſco.	Verſts from government-town.
Onega	Archangel	900	1560	232
Opotſcha	Pleſkof	491	727	137
Oranienbaum	St. Peterſburg	40	768	
Oranienburg	Riazane	1093	363	170
Orel		1097	367	
Orenburg	Ufa	1984	1254	319
Orlof	Viatka	1663	933	51
Orſcha	Mohilef	685	466	66
Oſa	Perme	2020	1290	113
Oſkol, old	Kurſk	1309	579	130
Oſkol, new	Kurſk	1379	639	191
Oſtaſchkof	Tver	426	347	183
Oſter	Kief	1532	802	89
Oſtrogoſk	Voronetch	1326	588	95
Oſtrof	Pleſkof	425	800	56
Pavlograd	Ekatarinoſlavl			202
Pavlofsk	Voronetch	1380	640	150
Penſa		1394	660	
Pereyaſlavl	Kief	1533	823	78
Perekop	Tavrida			140
Peremyſchl	Kaluga	925	195	28
Pereſlavl Riaz.		910	180	
Pereſlavl Salieſk	Vladimir	750	125	120
Perevolotſchna	Novgorod	2002	1272	50
Perevos	Niſhnè Novgorod			90
Perme		1949	1219	
Pernau	Riga	479	1190	72
Petropavlofskoi	Irkutſk	10648	9918	4620
Petrozavodſk	Olonetz	430	1024	
Petrofsk	Yaroſlavl	819	167	76
Petrofsk	Saratof	1490	760	105
Petſchory	Pleſkof		807	54
Phanagoria	Tavrida			240
Pinega	Archangel	1245	1288	210
Piriatin	Kief	1480	750	161
Ples	Koſtroma	856	295	54
Pleſkof		*	717	
Podol	Moſco	765	35	
Pogar	NovgorodSieverſkoi	1400	670	64
Pokrof	Vladimir	824	97	78

* By way of Narva — — 346
By way of Luga — — 326

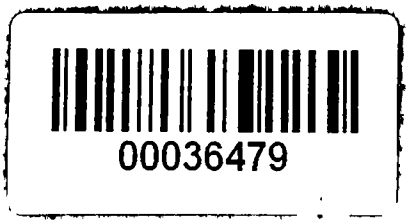
Poloizk

Towns.	In what government.	Verſts from St. Peterſb.	Verſts from Moſco.	Verſts from government-town.
Polotzk		643	1373	
Poltava	Ekätarinoſlavl	1535	805	171
Porkhof	Pleſkof	336	694	85
Porietſchy	Smolenſk	752	430	73
Poſchekonia	Yaroſlavl	718	314	112
Potſchinky	Niſhnè Novgorod			213
Povienetz	Olonetz	595	1189	765
Priluky	Tſchernigof	1453	723	
Pronſk	Riazane	950	220	50
Pudaſh	Olonetz	516	996	240
Putevl	Kurſk	1404	674	100
Reſitza	Polotzk	619	784	190
Reval		340	1070	
Riaſhſk	Riazane	1000	270	
Riga		552	1053	
Rogatſheff	Mohilef	1396	636	102
Romanof	Yaroſlavl	796	266	34
Romen	Tſchernigof	1412	682	194
Roſheſtvenſk	St. Peterſburg	79		
Roſlavl	Smolenſk	880	443	116
Roſtof	Yaroſlavl	806	189	54
Rſhef	Tver	631	300	127
Ruſa	Moſco	759	88	
Rybnoy	Yaroſlavl	806	252	78
Rylſk	Kurſk	1340	610	116
Sadonſk	Voronetch	1130	400	85
Samara	Simbirſk	1633	893	177
ST. PETERSBURG	*Reſidence*		728	
Sapoſhok	Riazane	1030	300	120
Saraiſk	Riazane	860	130	56
Saranſk	Penſa	1276	546	123
Sarapul	Viatka	1812	1082	380
Saratof		1632	902	
Saſchiverſk	Irkutſk	9192	8462	3369
Schadrinſk	Perme	2488	1758	556
Schatzk	Tambof	1090	360	157
Schenkurſk	Archangel	800	848	388
Scheſchkeyef	Penſa	1306	576	144
Schluſſelburg	St. Peterſburg	60	790	
Schtſchigry	Kurſk	1290	478	50
Schuya	Vladimir	969	239	90
Sebeſh	Polotzk	533	718	104
				Selenginſk

Towns.	In what government.	Verſts from St. Peterſb.	Verſts from Moſco	Verſts from government-towns.
Selenginſk	Irkutſk	6226	5496	403
Semeonoff	Niſhnè Novgorod			60
Semipalatſk	Kolyvan	2992	2262	
Semlianſk	Voronetch	1204	464	40
Serdob	Saratof			175
Serdobol	Viburg			238
Sergatſch	Niſhnè Novgorod			138
Sergiefsk	Ufa			350
Serpeiſk	Kaluga	980	250	82
Serpukhof	Moſco	818	88	
Sevaſtopol	Tavrida			
Shiganſk	Irkutſk	9125	8395	3302
Shiſdra	Kaluga	1054	320	156
Sienkof	Tſchernigof			286
Siennoi	Mohilef			151
Sievſk	Orel	1242	512	145
Simbirſk		1485	745	
Simpheropol	Tavrida	2187	1459	
Singileyef	Simbirſk	1519	779	49
Skopin	Riazane	1026	296	88
Slavianſk	Ekatarinoſlavl	1440	710	200
Slobodſkoy	Viatka	1740	1010	28
Smolenſk		716	384	
Solgalitzkaia	Koſtroma	799	502	223
Solikamſk	Perme	2227	1497	263
Solotonoſcha	Kief			130
Solotſchef	Kharkof	1459	718	36
Solvytſchegodſk	Vologda	1086	988	560
Sophia	St. Peterſburg	22	706	
Soſnitza	Novgorod Sieverſkoi			
Spaſk	Kazan			134
Spaſk	Riazane	966	232	52
Spaſk	Tambof	1300	570	207
Staraia Ruſſa	Novgorod	306	664	120
Staritza	Tver	595	237	73
Staro Bykhof	Mohilef	984	569	38
Starodub	Novgorod Sieverſkoi	1083	480	81
Stavropol	Caucaſus			
Stavropol	Simbirſk	1589	849	133
Sterlitamazk	Ufa			111
Strietenſk	Irkutſk	6866	6136	1043
Subtzof	Tver	628	280	116

Towns.	In what government.	Verſts from St. Peterſb.	Verſts from Moſco.	Verſts from government-town.
Sudogda	Vladimir	939	212	37
Sudſcha	Kurſk	1315	585	91
Sumy	Kharkof	1383	653	175
Suraſh	Polotzk	769	558	149
Suraſhſk	Novgorod Sieverſkoi			141
Surgut	Tobolſk	3610	2875	725
Suſdal	Vladimir	936	209	32
Svenigorod	Moſco	718	48	
Sviyabſk	Kazan	1445	715	30
Syſran	Simbirſk	1565	825	123
Sytſchcfka	Smolenſk		219	227
Tagay	Simbirſk	1436	696	49
Taganrok	Ekatarinoſlavl	2036	1306	469
Tamboſ		1207	477	
Tara	Tobolſk	3445	2715	560
Taruſa	Kaluga	848	118	62
Temnikof	Tamboſ	1279	549	291
Tetyuſchy	Kazan	1585	855	85
Theodoſia	Tavrida			
Tichvin	Novgorod	243	744	210
Tim	Kurſk	1243	513	64
Tiumin	Tobolſk	2631	1901	254
Tobolſk		2885	2155	
Tomſk	Tobolſk	4309	3579	1424
Toropetz	Pſcove	610	497	347
Torſhok	Tver	503	227	63
Totma	Vologda	889	626	200
Troïtzk	Penſa	1386	656	134
Troïtzk	Ufa			462
Trubtſchevſk	Orel	1166	436	169
Tſchauſy	Mohilef			43
Tſchebokſar	Kazan	1350	620	124
Tſchelyabinſk	Ufa	2488	1758	400
Tſchembar	Penſa			129
Tſcherdyn	Perme	2321	1591	364
Tſcherekof	Mohilef			82
Tſcherepovetch	Novgorod			476
Tſcherkaſk	Ekatarinoſlavl	1936	1208	
Tſchernigof		1124	676	
Tſchern	Tula	970	240	
Tſchernoi Yar	Saratof	1972	1242	499
Tſchiſtopoliye	Kazan			125

Tſchuchloma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